

Libyan mob sets fire to American embassy

American rioters in Libya yesterday set fire to the United States Embassy in Tripoli. It was the latest of a series of attacks protesting Americans' refusal to extradite the Shah of Iran who was flown to Texas yesterday for medical treatment.

Shah flown to Texas for convalescence

One country being mentioned here is South Africa. The Shah was taken to Texas by an Air Force aircraft and will be able to move round the country in privacy and security. When he was first taken to the California estate of Mr. Walter Annenberg, and may yet go there.

The State Department has been reducing the number of Americans in a dozen Middle East countries and in light of the Libyan attack this process will presumably be speeded up. The United States, China and the Soviet Union, in a rare display of unity, supported calls for the release of the hostages held at the American Embassy in Tehran.

Iran fever as Iranians note on constitution

art Fisk
In an almost total boycott of the polls in the Kurdish and Arab regions and an atmosphere of violence in the north of Iraq, Iranians are preparing for a new constitution. The Ayatollah will place Ayatollah in a position of comparative power over the country.

Anti-EEC revival in Labour ranks

By Michael Hatfield
Political Reporter
The Prime Minister, will receive overwhelming support in the Commons today for her plan to reduce the contribution to the EEC, though the Opposition is likely to question her tactics.

Mr. James Callaghan, the Labour leader, however, faces a serious revival of anti-market forces in his own party. Those who want Britain to withdraw from the EEC are treating the Dublin Summit as a gift.

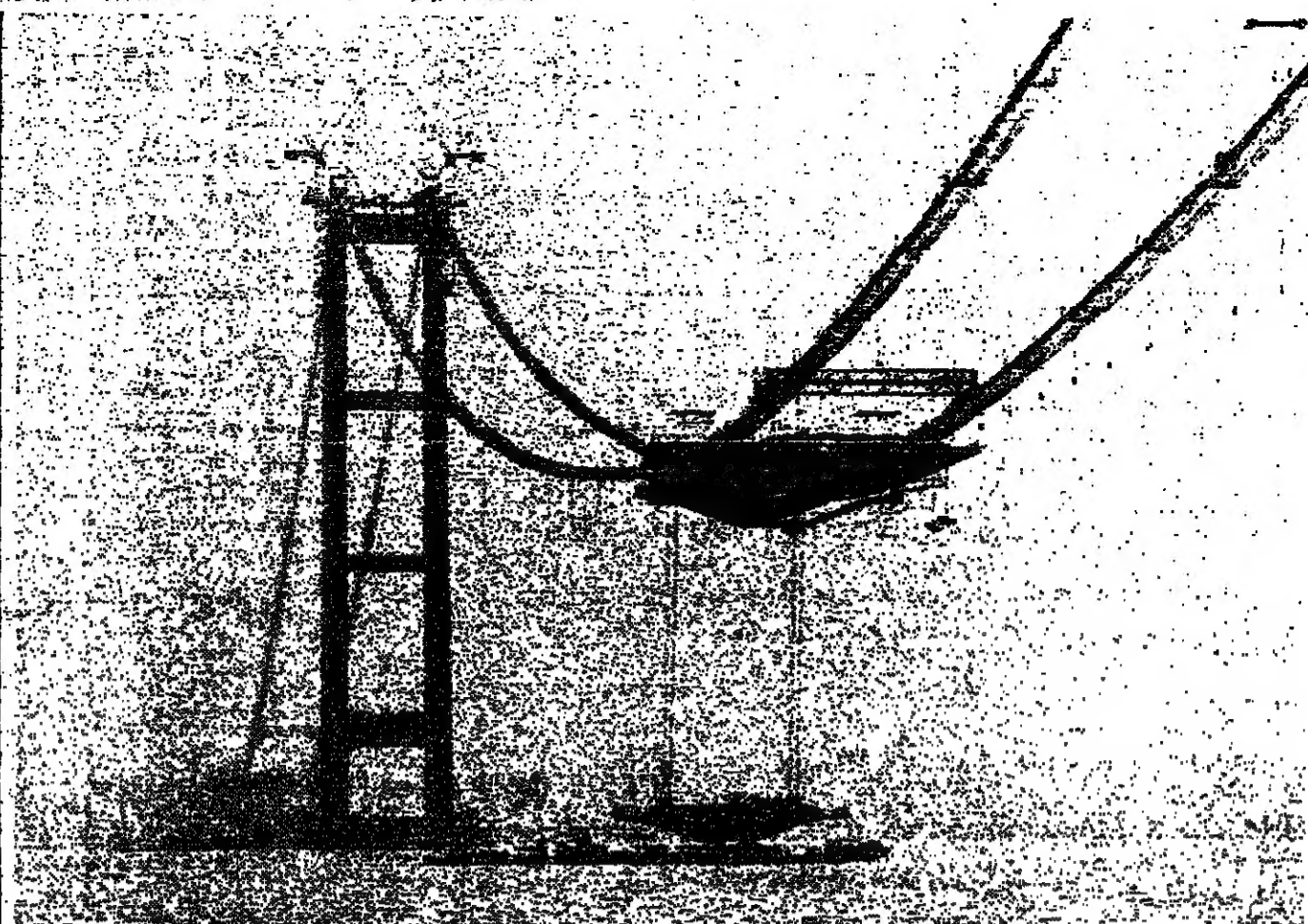
Mrs Thatcher in her statement in the House will maintain the Government's determination to achieve a broad balance in Britain's contribution. She is not expected, however, to spell out what concessions will be taken if she meets a second rebuff at the next meeting of government ministers.

Through the Government is working on contingency plans, Whitehall sources said last night that any regulatory action would be financial rather than a de Gaulle style boycotting of meetings.

Mrs Thatcher is understood to have informed her ministers that business must go on as usual. Mr. Peter Walker, Minister for Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, flies to Brussels tomorrow to try to resolve the dispute over Britain's insistence that conservation must come first in a common fisheries policy.

The Prime Minister will shrug off any suggestions in the Commons today that she suffered an important defeat in Dublin, emphasizing that the Government's objective remains the same and that the EEC countries have one more opportunity to come much closer to Britain's demands.

Mr. Callaghan will not quarrel with his objective, but he has already questioned her negotiating style. He said on Saturday: "I think that you really cannot talk to the President of France or Chancellor Schmidt as though they are mentally deficient. They have a mental age rather greater than yours."



A road section of the Humber Bridge, said to be the world's longest single span suspension bridge, with a main span of 4,625ft, being moved into place yesterday.

Union to invest funds in stock market

By Donald MacIntyre
Labour Reporter

The Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers has decided for the first time to invest a part of its funds in the equity market.

The decision follows many years of internal discussion about whether it was right for the union to become a shareholder in private industry.

With characteristic caution the union has agreed initially to invest only about £500,000 of its officers' pension fund (15 per cent of the fund) in the stock market.

And although the union's executive is for the first time since the war exclusively in political moderate hands it has already met the Midlands Bank's investment advisers, that it has no wish to take holdings in companies with South African interests.

The union with 1,250,000 members is the country's second biggest, and the biggest so far to invest any part of its funds in the market.

Outspoken general to lead Rhodesia force

By Henry Stanhope
Defence Correspondent

Major-General John Acland, General Officer Commanding the Army's South-West District, has been appointed to lead the Commonwealth force to monitor the ceasefire in Zimbabwe Rhodesia.

Although the Ministry of Defence would not confirm this last night, it is understood that General Acland and his force of more than 1,000 troops are ready to fly to Salisbury within two or three days of a ceasefire agreement being reached at the Lancaster House talks.

That timing is on the assumption that the agreement broadly reflects the British proposals. Significant changes would force the ministry to redraft its plans, with consequent delay.

General Acland, while a Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the second battalion of the Scots Guards, put his career prospects at risk 10 years ago by writing a strongly-worded letter to The Times, protesting against defence cuts.

He has been promoted to Major-General, and his appointment to lead the force would have to be "top heavy" with a relatively high number of officers and senior NCOs.

Record of crash flight found in Antarctic

Scott Base, Antarctica, Dec 2.

A search team today found both the flight recorder and a page of the last half-hour of conversation in the cockpit of the Air New Zealand DC10, which crashed in Antarctica last Wednesday killing all 257 people on board.

Morrie Davis, Air New Zealand's chief executive, today condemned press speculation about the cause of the disaster. He said the theories were not based on fact.

While the search continued, an Australian aircraft of Qantas Airlines made the first sight-seeing flight over the Antarctic since the crash.

Described by his colleagues as a tall, urbane old Etonian and himself the son of a brigadier, he is said to be a soldier's soldier, more at home in the field with his troops than immobilized by paperwork at a desk.

Although he has served in West Germany and Northern Ireland, he belongs to the Army's "warm climate" school, with experience in Malaya, Cyprus, Egypt, Kenya and Zambia. That perhaps explains why he has been chosen for one of the Army's most sensitive special assignments. He is married with an adult daughter and a son who has served in the Army.

It is understood that General Acland would act as a military adviser to the Governor during a ceasefire. A subordinate officer would exercise day-to-day command over the troops.

Under the latest British plan, the force would number more than 1,000, including helicopter pilots from the Army and RAF and ground staff. Between 600 and 700 men would be British, with the remainder drawn from Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and Kenya.

One of the difficulties is that the delicate job of monitoring a ceasefire would demand high-grade soldiers capable of making finely-balanced judgments while stationed in remote outposts. This means that the force would have to be "top heavy" with a relatively high number of officers and senior NCOs.

They would be flown to Salisbury by the RAF, then distributed in small detachments by helicopter. The troops would carry only small arms for personal protection.

Front demands answer, page 6
Leading article, page 13

Bethlehem's budget has no room for Christmas

From Christopher Walker
Bethlehem, Dec 2

The Arab town revered by Christians the world over as the birthplace of Christ is facing a bleak Christmas without street decorations, festive lights, imported trees or even proper municipal services for the 20,000 pilgrims who normally congregate in Manger Square on Christmas Eve.

Mr. Elias Freij, the elected mayor, disclosed in an interview with The Times today that because of the political turmoil on the occupied West Bank, Bethlehem would not have money for the festivities which make it the focal point for televised Christmas celebrations throughout the world.

Bethlehem usually allocates about £10,000 of its annual budget for Christmas expenditure. Included in this is payment for a special cleaning team of 30 men, a lunch of traditional fare for 400 Arab and Israeli dignitaries and hospitality for the many foreign choir boys who come to sing carols in front of the Church of the Nativity.

By December 20 we shall have no cash left to spend on anything. The town will be what you in England describe as flat broke," Mr. Freij said.

"So I will have no alternative but to scrap the whole of the Christmas programme."

Bethlehem's seasonal poverty is directly attributable to unrest throughout the West Bank and the Gaza Strip caused by Israel's continuing efforts to expel Mr. Bassem Shakka, the mayor of Nablus.

Last month, all 25 elected mayors and councils in the region resigned in protest at the threatened deportation.

According to Mr. Freij, who is regarded as one of the most moderate of the West Bank leaders, the resignations caused the immediate freezing of all the substantial Arab funds for the occupied territories which are channelled through Jordan.

In the case of Bethlehem, that money accounted for 70 per cent of its annual budget," he said.

Jordanian law decrees that all the courts ceased to exist from the day we entered our resignations to the official register, so there is no legal way they can go on paying."

Mr. Freij was one of the Arab mayors most reluctant to resign in the wake of Mr. Shakka's arrest, but he now maintains that only a cancellation of the expulsion order will get him — and his council back to their posts.

"In the present atmosphere, my attitude is to say, 'To hell with Christmas', although I am well aware that for Christians we are the spiritual capital of the world."

Woman dies in fall from plane

Mrs Isabel Ribbar, aged 42, the wife of Mr. John Ribbar, chairman of British Land, fell to her death from the company's last night.

The police said that as the aircraft approached the airport the pilot reported an emergency. Mrs. Ribbar's body was found in a field.

Clash over Navy protection ships

By Peter Hill
Industrial Editor

A long running dispute has surfaced between the Ministry of Defence and a small private company of naval architects about the replacement of the Navy's fleet of ageing coastal protection vessels.

The company's design, the Osprey, is a basic 165ft offshore patrol vessel costing about £3m a ship. Thornycroft, Giles has proposed it as a replacement for the old 152ft "Gun" class of minesweepers which were converted for coastal protection. Since the cod was widely feared for a modern fleet of offshore protection vessels has increased.

The Ministry of Defence has not yet announced its offshore protection vessel building programme. But it is certain that the ministry will decide in favour of British Shipbuilders much longer 260ft OPV Mark 2. This could cost up to £15m a ship.

The argument about the most suitable design for the next generation of protection vessels has rumbled on behind closed doors for more than three years. Meanwhile, the Danish Fisheries Ministry has built a prototype of the 152ft "Gun" class of minesweepers which were converted for coastal protection. Since the cod was widely feared for a modern fleet of offshore protection vessels has increased.

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Oxford's closed awards in doubt

The future of closed scholarships at Oxford is in doubt after a decision by Oxford colleges to reorganise the award system for undergraduates. It has been left to each college to decide whether it wishes to keep its closed awards or to offer only open awards.

Ulster politics: Power struggle between Northern Ireland Unionists and Catholics could help to save devolution conference.

Emergency food stocks: Government wants to increase spending on supplies for times of crisis.

Education standards: Comprehensive schools blamed for fall in A level passes.

Moscow: Russia takes hard line and strives to ban Nato missiles.

Kampuchea: Khmer leaders want a woman refugee killed.

Home News: 2, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

Letters: On the Tehran hostages, from Mr. M. A. J. Kington; on the future of British Steel, from Sir Charles Villiers; hospital pickets, from Dr. Robin Russell Jones and Dr. Angela Altman.

Leading articles: Rhodesia: Chile features, pages 7, 12; Andrew Phillips on oil sanctions and the Bingham report; Peter Evans on the police and firearms; Eric Heffer on Labour's future.

Sport, pages 8, 9, 10: Cricket: England beat Tasmania, West Indies restore morale in First Test; Rugby Union: France in good heart; 200th Roman and Wales B.

Obituary, page 14: The Most Rev. A. J. Kington.

Arts, page 11: David Robinson introduces Le Cirque Imaginaire, playing at Riverside Studios; William Mann reviews the British premiere of Pendergast's Violin Concerto and Covent Garden's revival of Don Juan.

Business News, pages 15-20: Financial Editor: Oil opportunities in America; London: considering futures market; Business management: A tougher road to the top for accountants.

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le range of deals, I reports

from the Confederation of Industry on current pay disputes wage settlements reached more quickly than in years and are ranging from 2 to 20 per cent. This regard pay and the area in which most done to influence overall developments, and the CBI ed to press this point at a Economic Development meeting this week. Page 15

Big turn-out for Portuguese poll

Responding to an appeal by President Eanes, the Portuguese turned out in big numbers to elect a new National Assembly. More than 80 per cent of the electorate voted in Oporto. The elections were called after the failure of successive prime ministers to muster enough support in the Assembly to implement a constructive policy and cope with national problems. Page 5

Gandhi manifesto

In presenting her election manifesto, Mrs Indira Gandhi declared her belief that India's problems can be solved only by democratic means. She pledged that the first task of her Government would be to restore stability and order. Page 7

Plea on picketing

Mr James Anderson, chief constable of Greater Manchester, has called for new legislation on picketing. He described picketing as a powerful political weapon and a privilege Voluntary codes of conduct, he added, were not good enough. Page 2

Call for changes in nuclear planning

A study of the Windscale inquiry, entitled Decision Making for Energy Futures, recommends fundamental changes in the planning of large nuclear projects. Little attempt is made, says, to inform the public of technological issues, and there is a danger of debate turning into serious civil disobedience. Page 2

London docks aid

The Port of London Authority is to get continued support from the Government and an announcement is expected shortly. In June the PLA submitted a plan to the Government calling for aid of between £40m and £60m over the next five years. Page 15

Riots in Spain

What began as demonstrations in northern and southern Spain turned into riots. In Cordoba 14 people were injured, three of them seriously, while in San Sebastian, Bilbao and Pamplona there was more violence. An MP was among the injured. Page 5

Study of Windscale inquiry expresses fear of civil disobedience

grounds. To do so would make life unbearable and subject both the police and the community to intolerable pressures.

"The possibility that march in a given area may be harmful to race relations, as opposed to being deliberately provocative and likely to lead to violence, is not by itself a criterion to justify the imposition of a ban."

On incitement to racial hatred Mr Anderson said he had always been opposed to the introduction of specific legislation. "It is illfounded and overly subjective, not so much in its acts, which often are against themselves, as in its definition, which is somewhat obscure. I do not think there is a satisfactory answer."

He said racial hatred, however defined, is abhorrent, but from the point of view of practical policing "I would let it rest on the principle of 'conscience'—it would cause a breach of the peace."

dimension than any of the other technologies in the energy field. The same people—many members of the anticapitalist movement—who believe there is a strong case against the development of nuclear power; a case based on fears about radiation hazards, the proliferation of nuclear weapons or threats to civil liberties.

But this report does not attempt to show whether the balance of argument is in their favour. The object is to say whether there are legitimate subjects for serious consideration and, if so, whether they are being subjected to proper investigation and debate.

The answer from an extensive study of the topic is that they are valid matters for public scrutiny, but they are not subject to satisfactory questioning.

The controversy over nuclear power was chosen as the case study because it is seen as fundamental to the energy policy of the present or any likely British government in the discernible future.

But it is also a topic chosen

highlights clearly the disadvantages that Parliament faces and suggests that technical means and agencies, such as those of the high technology, because of the relatively few scientists and technologists of high reputation who have been attracted into government or the Civil Service.

The technical nature of the subject is given as one explanation of why the traditional way of doing things is not working. The subject has not been used. The debate has been slow to emerge and then largely by extra-parliamentary means, of which the Windscale inquiry has been the most significant example.

Professor Pearce's growing ex-amine arguments that the technological age in which we live, the public cannot possibly be informed of the basis for a given decision. Such decisions may need to be taken quickly or made for reasons of overriding national interest.

Precious little attempt is made to inform the public of technological issues, the report says. The doubts surrounding public information seem to emanate from those who fear a response that differs from

their own opinions on why it is that sharp divisions of class and race exist, and why they exist, and hence a wrong basis for the formation of public opinion. A strong argument is made in the report for something akin to the Freedom of Information Act of the United States without which the public can not be in possession of sufficient information to make a rational decision.

The reason for giving the fullest possible information concerns equally development of the race which will have a fairly immediate effect or an effect on future generations. The latter is based on the concept that "our children's welfare is some of our own." It is not.

The report looks in some detail at the explanations of why a powerful antinuclear movement exists which is parallel to, say, an anticommunist movement. One reason is the connection with the military potential of nuclear forces and the threat to the world.

That in turn raises the issue of civil liberties. For there is said to be no doubt that an expanded nuclear program means some loss of freedom.

By Robin Young
Consumer Affairs
Correspondent

In the coming week nations will set the way of 17 million pounds of mixed Christmas puddings as an unadorned home-made mince's stirred, suet and egg-strengthened in cupboard and crates throughout the land.

Even *L'Express*, *Gazette* allows that: "In Christmas Day is celebrated with more gastronomic than in France." The French have been savoring of our puddings that even say we did not originate them, but borrowed them from the Greeks.

The story has some Eliza Arcon, a very English court, was still in the court of the King of France and honey for his

A surprise management visit to a factory at Pallion, Sunderland, has led to 10 men being suspended without pay. The Crown Works yesterday said that they would hold an inquiry today into allegations that the men were found sleeping.

The 250-a-week workers were suspended after a surprise visit by two senior management staff are said to have found the workers asleep in the paint shop. Seven painters and three maintenance men were sent home without pay because they were found sleeping.

The suspended men will meet the management tomorrow to give their side. Mr Robert Burdett, general secretary of General Workers' Union, will be with

[illegible]

From Christopher Thomas Reihart:

The massive power struggle between Northern Ireland's two big Unionist parties could, ironically, help to save the Government's proposed constitutional conference on power devolution. There is now a chance, though small, that talks will begin before Christmas.

The Rev. Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionists have spent the past week deciding how the Roman Catholic minority might be protected in any system of power sharing. They are now taking advice from leading constitutional lawyers in Britain.

Although it might seem inconceivable that the DUP could produce anything to satisfy the Social Democratic and Labour Party, it is, in fact, a point of view to a real determination by Mr Paisley to get round the conference table.

Mr John Hume is tomorrow to meet Mr Humphrey Atkins, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, at Stormont Castle for the first time since being appointed leader last week. His deputy, Mr Seamus Mallon, will not be present.

Mr Atkins will attempt to accommodate the constitutional wishes of the embittered Irish division into his proposed confederation.

From Our Correspondent
Dublin

Two men from co. Antrim were charged in the Special Criminal Court in Dublin on Saturday with conspiracy to murder. Mr. Francis McGrath, aged 24, the laboratory assistant in the same court 10 days ago of the murder of Lord Mountbatten of Burma.

The defendants are Arthur Taylor, aged 32, of Rathcoole, and Thomas P. Mullin, aged 25, of Newrytown custody. They were remanded to custody until December 17.

Mr. Taylor and Mr. McGee were charged with conspiracy with other persons to commit a murder. Francis McGrath between November 28 and 29. They were also charged with possession of two pistols and ammunition at Aughastellan, Ballinmore, co. Leitrim, with intent to endanger life, and with possession of two pistols and ammunition with intent to have persons under their control. They pleaded not guilty.

Mr. McGrath, who is from Ballinmore, co. Leitrim, is due to appear again in the court on January 21 after denying a charge of membership of the

SPARK WITH PARTY
From Our Correspondent
Bedmin.

The Falmouth-Camborne constituency Labour Party, which staged a revolt against the increasing influence of the machine, last night yesterday pulled back from the brink of an outright break with Transport House.

The local party is to consider again its decision to disaffiliate from the national party. There is growing support for a move to stay in.

The constituency was held by Labour for 25 years before being won for the Tories in 1970 by Mr. David Maud.

Mr. Maud, a former Transport House official, captured the seat in 1970.

By a Staff Reporter
The American Broadcasting Company's new **Advised Scaffs** is to reconsider today a "possible" formula for settling the regrading dispute which has cost the ABC more than \$1,500,000 in this production.

Talks involving the ABC, the National Labor Relations Board and the National Labor Relations Board's Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service ended early on Saturday morning with a statement that the union's national executive would discuss the formula today and then report back to ACAS. Weekend programmes, however, are disrupted with a number of repeat programmes being shown.

By Paul Roulledge
Labour Editor

Counting in the miners' pit is a tedious task and the new electronic beeper should be completed tomorrow, and the voting returned tomorrow. The miners' union shows a marked reluctance to accept the new technology. The union's executive committee and its authorized leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers to call a strike for higher pay.

Pitmen in Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire are the second largest coalfield, and the miners' union has been understood to have rejected the Government's offer of a 10% pay rise. The miners' union has rejected the Government's recommendation to reject the offer of a 10% pay rise. The National Coal Board's offer of a 10% pay rise is the final offer of 20 per cent pay rise.

Unofficial but usually reliable sources show that fewer than 40 per cent of the men in that area have backed their leaders, and the figure is about 30 per cent in the lower, at about 30 per cent.

by Stewart Tendler

One of Professor Anthony Henry's Soviet contacts in Britain is thought to have been a Soviet agent living in Moscow and working as an author.

An intelligence source yesterday confirmed that Mr Ernest Henry is suspected of having been a contact for Professor Tendler during the war. The professor, recently named as a spy, was recruited in the thirties to work for the British intelligence, worked for M15 between 1940 and 1945 and passed information to the Russians.

The identification of Mr Ernest still leaves the possibility that there were other contacts to the Soviet Union known to the British. It is known to bring a man over from one country to another just to make the rendezvous. There is also a question of whom Professor

E.E.C. Ministers are to be lobbied today in Brussels by a delegation from Sherland seeking protection for the island's fishing industry. Representatives from the Sherland Islands Council and the Sherland Fishermen's Association hope to explain their proposals for safeguarding the fish catching and processing industry.

They have been worked out with the White Fish Authority and involve a management scheme giving preference to Sherland boats but allowing other vessels to enter waters 12 miles off the Sherland coast on a licence and quota system.

NOON TODAY Pressure is shown in millibars. **FRONTS** Warm - Cold - Occluded
 Symbols are as following below

Sun rises: Sun sets:
7:46 am 3:54 pm
Moon sets: Moon rises:
6:53 am 4:20 pm

all Moon: 5:8 pm

Lighting up: 4:26 pm to 7:17 am.
High water: London Ridge 1.9 m.
Low tide: 7:28 (23.7ft); 1:23 pm; 7:36 pm (23.2ft). Avonmouth, 6.36 m.
4:22 pm (3.4ft); 7:5 pm, 13.4m.
44.5ft Dover, 10.50 am, 6.7m.
10.50 am, 6.7m (21.5ft).
Weymouth, 5.19 am, 7.6m (24.9ft); 5.49 pm, 7.3m (24.5ft). Liverpool, 10.39 am, 6.4m (30.3ft); 10.59 pm, 9.4m (31.0ft).

A windy SW airstream covers the United Kingdom with showers in many districts.

Forecasts for 6 am to midnight:

London, East Angles, SE England, Channel Islands: Sunny intervals developing, scattered showers, W.6-8 SW, fresh to moderating temp 10° to 12°C (50° to 54°F).

Midlands, E. SW and central England: Sunny intervals. Showers; wind SW, strong to gale.

WEATHER REPORTS YESTERDAY

rain;	s. sun;	d. clear.			
1	20	Cologne	11	52	1
2	20	Düsseldorf	11	52	1
3	20	Hamburg	11	52	1
4	17	Berlin	11	52	1
5	17	Frankfurt	11	52	1
6	17	Köln	11	52	1
7	17	Stuttgart	11	52	1
8	17	Munich	11	52	1
9	17	Nuremberg	11	52	1
10	17	Regensburg	11	52	1
11	17	Pasadena	11	52	1
12	17	Los Angeles	11	52	1
13	17	San Francisco	11	52	1
14	17	Oakland	11	52	1
15	17	Seattle	11	52	1
16	17	Portland	11	52	1
17	17	Vancouver	11	52	1
18	17	Toronto	11	52	1
19	17	Montreal	11	52	1
20	17	New York	11	52	1
21	17	Washington	11	52	1
22	17	Boston	11	52	1
23	17	Philadelphia	11	52	1
24	17	Chicago	11	52	1
25	17	Indianapolis	11	52	1
26	17	Columbus	11	52	1
27	17	Memphis	11	52	1
28	17	Louisville	11	52	1
29	17	Kansas City	11	52	1
30	17	Denver	11	52	1
31	17	Phoenix	11	52	1
32	17	Albuquerque	11	52	1
33	17	Las Vegas	11	52	1
34	17	San Diego	11	52	1
35	17	Los Angeles	11	52	1
36	17	San Francisco	11	52	1
37	17	Oakland	11	52	1
38	17	Seattle	11	52	1
39	17	Portland	11	52	1
40	17	Vancouver	11	52	1
41	17	Toronto	11	52	1
42	17	Montreal	11	52	1
43	17	New York	11	52	1
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74	17	Louisville	11	52	1
75	17	Kansas City	11	52	1
76	17	Denver	11	52	1
77	17	Phoenix	11	52	1
78	17	Albuquerque	11	52	1
79	17	Las Vegas	11	52	1
80	17	San Diego	11	52	1
81	17	Los Angeles	11	52	1
82					

London : Temp : max 6 am
6 pm, 14°C (57°F) ; min 6 pm
6 am, 12°C (54°F). Humidity 61
71 per cent. Rain, 24 hr to 6 am
a trace. Sun, 24 hr to 6 pm,
hr. Bar, mean sea level, 6 ft
1.0213 millibars, rising.

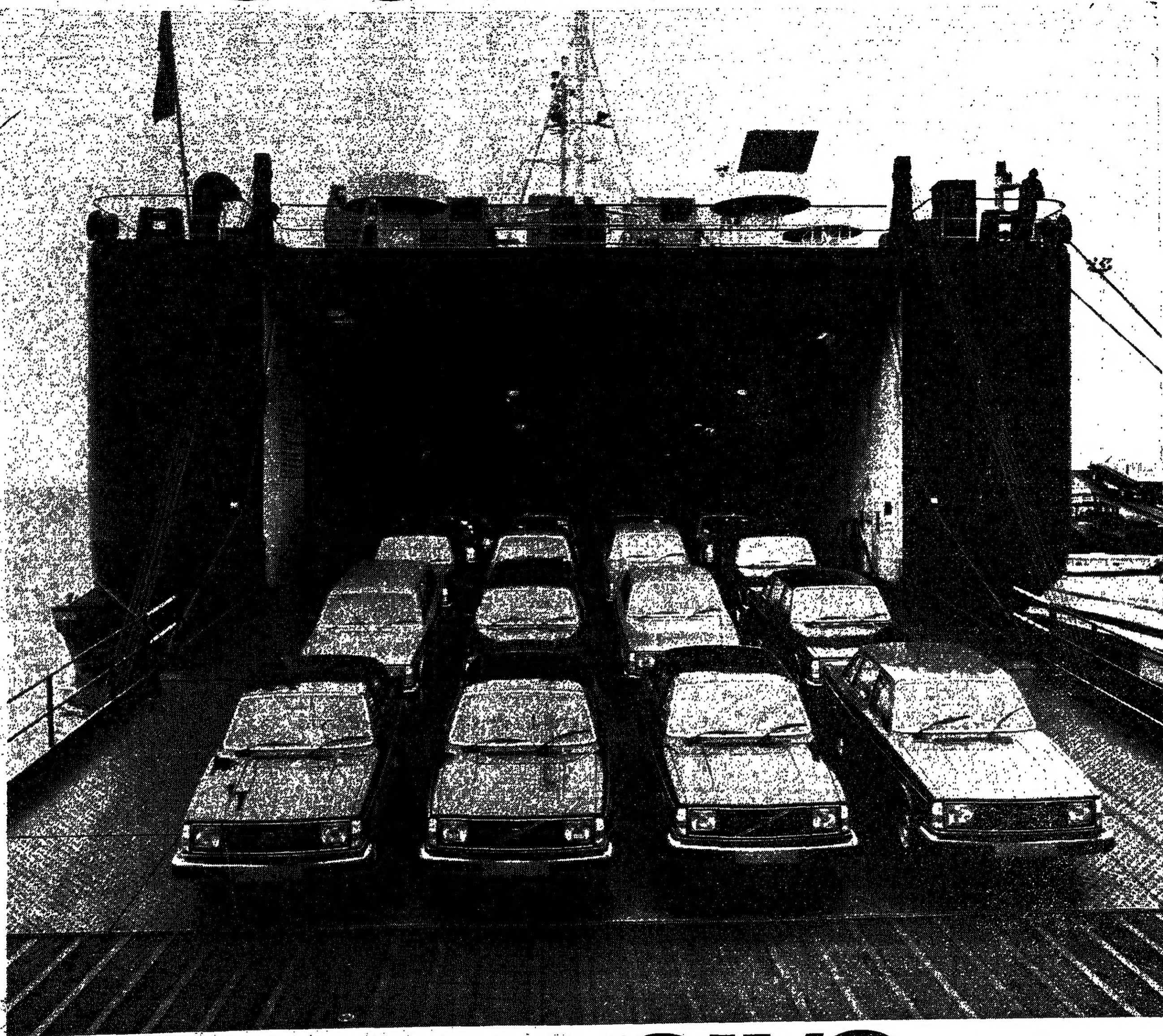
Yesterday

London : Temp : max 6 am 11
pm, 14°C (57°F) ; min 6 pm
6 am, 11°C (52°F). Humid
6 pm, 79 per cent. Rain, 24 hr
6 pm, a trace. Sun, 24 hr
6 pm, nil. Bar, mean sea lev
6 pm, 1.0176 millibars, steady
1.000 millibars = 29.53 in.

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HOME NEWS

Uncertain future for Oxford colleges' controversial school-based scholarships

By Diana Geddes
Education Correspondent

The future of the controversial school-based scholarship at Oxford is in doubt after a decision by Oxford colleges to reorganize the award system for undergraduates.

Under existing university rules, each college may offer open awards (scholarships or full scholarships) to up to 30 per cent of its undergraduates. A further tenth may be offered as a closed award, that is, an award tied to a particular school, almost invariably an independent school, or to a group of schools within a particular geographical region.

The closed award system has often been criticized for giving an unfair advantage to independent school pupils, and for ignoring a candidate who is below the standard normally required for an open award. The colleges maintain that neither claim is true; that a closed award is given only to a candidate who would otherwise have been given an open award.

The monetary value of an award, whether open or closed, of £60 a year for a scholarship and £40 for an exhibition is negligible. But the award system

at Oxford still plays an important role in helping to provide a fairer distribution of exceptional talent between the various colleges by means of the so-called trumping system.

Under that system, college A which has, say, rather a low standard of applicants in history, can trump a better candidate from college B by offering him an award. If the student has been offered a place, but not an award from college B, he must go to college A, even though he might have preferred to remain at college B.

The system works fairly equitably for the open awards in so far as each college can offer the same number of awards, proportionate to its intake, as any other college. But some colleges, especially those where rich benefactors have not set up trust funds for scholarships, offer few, if any, closed awards, while others offer their full quota of awards to make. One admissions tutor thought it was the beginning of the end of the closed award system.

Dr John Rae, Headmaster of Westminster School, which is offered up to eight closed awards by Christchurch every year, said he did not think the change would make much difference to his pupils. He hoped that the decision might lead Oxford to reexamine its whole award system, which he believes should be abolished.

On average, Oxford offers closed awards to a twentieth of its intake. The total number of awards available therefore remains unchanged. But the number offered by individual colleges will change. Those colleges which offer their full tenth quota of closed awards will be able to offer fewer exhibitions and scholarships, while those with no closed awards will be able to offer more.

It has been left to each college to decide whether it wishes to keep its closed awards, or whether to offer only open awards. Colleges are looking at their legal position, and will be consulting scholars, with which they have close, over what move to make. One admissions tutor thought it was the beginning of the end of the closed award system.

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A tapestry celebrating Marlborough's victory at Oudenarde in 1708 being renovated at the Royal School of Needlework, London, before it is returned to Blenheim Palace.

Sentencing practices vary greatly, study shows

By Marcel Berlins
Legal Correspondent

Magistrates' courts around the country vary greatly in the sentences they pass for similar crimes and on similar offenders, a Home Office research study shows.

The study, which covers 10 years 1971 to 1976, reveals that while one court fined 46 per cent of offenders, another imposed fines on 76 per cent. The comparisons for sentence of imprisonment ranged from 5 per cent to 15 per cent. On average, 10 per cent of offenders were sentenced to prison, while another did so in more than 12 per cent of cases.

Some of the variations could be explained by local factors. For instance, where there was a great deal of police cautioning, fewer people were actually taken before the courts were charged, and more given custodial sentences. The level of fines differed between areas according to their social and financial conditions. Probation was ordered more widely in areas that had better resources for it.

Even allowing for such variations, the research concludes that considerable differences in sentencing practice remained. "A reduction in these discrepancies is obviously a desirable aim and would result in a fairer and more just system of sentencing," it says. After excluding racial differences, the study suggests extending the use of recommended penalties for common offences, while magistrates' courts already in use in many cases to other offences, and specifying more clearly the discretionary principles to be applied when magistrates decide to depart from the recommended penalty. Sentencing Practices in Magistrates' Courts (Home Office Research Study, 36, Statutory Office, 225).

Too hot to handle

The National Coal Board has lost £1m of mining machinery in a steam at Walsingham, Cheshire, north Staffordshire, which has been closed because of a fire from spontaneous combustion.

'Black paper' author's study blames spread of comprehensive schools

Fall in number of A level passes this decade

By Our Education Correspondent

The number of A level passes per school-leaver rose throughout the 1960s, but since the early 1970s it has fallen, a study published today shows. Its author, Mr R. W. Baldwin, suggests that the spread of comprehensive schooling could be responsible.

He is chairman of the governors of Manchester Grammar School and a frequent contributor to the "Black Papers" on education. Last year he caused a furore when he compared, many thought unfairly, examination results of schools in Manchester city with those in Trafford.

This year's study, his last, is published by the National Council for Educational Standards, of which Mr Rhodes Boyson was chairman until he took up his post as Under-Secretary for Education. Using figures published by the Department of Education and Science, Mr Baldwin shows that the number of A level passes per school-leaver in maintained schools fell between 1971 and 1977 (the latest date available) by 5 per cent for boys and 3 per cent for girls. Over the same period A level passes per school-leaver from independent and direct grant schools rose by 11 per cent for boys and 10 per cent for girls.

In some important subjects the fall in A level passes per school-leaver was much greater than for all subjects: in physics the fall for boys was 13 per cent since 1967 (girls 11 per cent); mathematics 21 per cent since 1971 (girls 14 per cent); French 38 per cent since 1968 (girls 16 per cent); and English 21 per cent since 1971 (girls 12 per cent).

In independent schools there was no fall in the proportion of school-leavers gaining passes in mathematics or in modern languages between 1971 and 1977, Mr Baldwin says. In the maintained sector he notes that the combined results of the remaining selective schools (grammar, technical and secondary modern) show a large increase in the number of A level passes per school-leaver since 1971: 17 per cent for boys and 22 per cent for girls.

However, such a big increase is almost certainly due to the fact that, as Mr Boyson told the House of Commons on November 21, "the changeover to comprehensive schools has proceeded at a slower rate for grammar schools than for modern schools, with the result that the spread of abilities in selective schools, taken together, has become biased towards the more able pupil". The 1971-1977 increase for grammar schools alone was 5

per cent for boys and 11 per cent for girls, which is much higher than the increase for comprehensive schools of 4 per cent for boys and 8 per cent for girls. Neither of these figures was given in Mr Baldwin's text, but they can be reached from his figures.

Asked about the increase in A level passes in comprehensive schools, he said that that was probably due to the absorption of the grammar schools into comprehensive schools. He did not point out that, as Mr Boyson said, many more secondary modern schools have been absorbed into comprehensive schools over the same period.

His main point, Mr Baldwin said, was that A level passes per school-leaver at independent schools have fallen since 1971, despite the raising of the school-leaving age in 1973.

There had been a big increase in the number of pupils who left school to study for their A level at further education colleges, but adding their results to the total made little difference.

While some comprehensives had obtained some excellent A level results, comprehensives as a whole were not getting their proper share of high grades at A level. In 1977 comprehensives ob-

tained about 54 per cent of all A level passes by boys, about 49 per cent of grades A to C and only 41 per cent of grade A passes. Figures for girls were respectively 58 per cent, 51 per cent and 43 per cent.

There were wide disparities on performance between different comprehensives, Mr Baldwin said. In Greater Manchester, for example, some comprehensives had an average of 50 to 90 A level passes per 100 school-leavers, while others, not inner city schools, got 10 or less. (Mr Baldwin did not indicate, however, whether the latter were former secondary modern schools whose comprehensive intake had not yet reached the sixth form.)

"The evidence now presented reinforces the doubt whether the current trend, either in total numbers or in grades, is satisfactory," the National Council for Educational Standards says.

Latest figures produced by the Department of Education and Science show that the proportion of leavers from maintained schools who gained one of more A levels dropped from 13.7 per cent in 1971 to 12.5 per cent in 1977, but had since risen to 12.9 per cent.

No allowance is made for students taking A levels in further education colleges, who now account for a third of all A level entries.

Blacks get fewer job offers

By Peter Evans
Home Affairs Correspondent

A study by the Commission for Racial Equality in south London has shown that black school-leavers find it three times more difficult to get jobs than do their white counterparts, however hard they try, Mr David Lane, the commission's chairman, said on Sunday.

He told young Conservatives at a national conference in Leicester that similar results were obtained in Bradford, where black unemployment runs twice as high as white in the inner city.

He said that inner-city unemployment was higher, and if black figures are drastically cut, many poor white people could be displaced into their black neighbours' areas.

Mr Lane said that he had never accepted the inevitability of racial violence in Britain's cities, which had been perpetuated by the present scenario of violence could become a reality.

He said that policies for the inner cities must be at the very centre, and not on the fringe, of any government's programme.

Planned immigration law 'unjustified slur on Asians'

The Government was urged yesterday to think again about its immigration proposals because they could damage racial harmony in Britain.

In a statement, two officials of the Board for Social Responsibility of the Church of England, the Bishop of Exeter, the Right Rev Graham Leonard, chairman, and Mr Giles Eccles, secretary, appealed to MPs who will soon debate the White Paper on immigration, to "be sensitive to the widespread concern" at the "discriminatory character of the Government's proposals".

They were particularly concerned about a proposal to limit the number of visas issued to the wives of men settled in this country to bring their husbands and families to live there. The Government clearly intended to "discriminate" against Asian women, they said.

Although the Government had argued that it aimed to stamp out marriages of convenience, it had not shown how widespread they were. The proposal was an "unjustified slur on the Asian community" by giving the impression that "damaged marriages" were common in the Asian community, they said.

The statement said that it did not deny the Government's right to control immigration, so long as it was "just and humane".

Mr Enoch Powell's criticism of the breath test Act, saying it was against natural justice, was "a serious slur on the lives of those who have been arrested by a British Medical Association official."

Mr Powell, MP for Down, South, said in a speech to the annual dinner of the Midlands Magistrates' Association in London on Sunday that the Act "defiled the statute book with law which is flagrantly contrary to natural justice".

He added: "It is an undignified principle of natural justice that no one should be compelled to give evidence against himself. This Act, however, treated an offence of such a character that no one could be convicted of it except by implicating himself."

And he said the Act would be proved to have had "no effect whatsoever" on alcohol consumption, which was the reason for its enactment.

For some time before the legislation was enacted, and

Powell criticism of breath-test Act

came into force, there had been the practice to hold a post-mortem examination for blood level of alcohol upon all persons killed in road accidents when in control of a motor vehicle. It is thus possible to compare before and after.

Upon the proportion of bodies with high alcohol levels there was no effect whatever, even momentarily. The proportion continued to rise without interruption.

"Where levels were only slightly or marginally above that which has been made criminal, there was a big dip. But after a short time the upward tendency was resumed and the former trend-line soon regained."

Commenting on Mr Powell's reported remarks, Dr John Bland, secretary of the British Medical Association, who is also secretary of the BMA committee that advised the Government of the day to introduce the drink and driving legislation, said: "Accidents associated with motor vehicles are one of the most important public health problems of our age."

For example, these accidents account for more than half a million deaths in the 15 to 1 age group.

"This is the reason why restrictions have to be placed on drivers of cars. Alcohol is very important cause of road accidents. We estimate that more than 40 per cent of drivers killed in road accidents under the age of 30 are found to have an excess of the 80 milligramme of alcohol per 100 milligramme of blood over which the law permits a driver to drive."

Dr Bland added: "The requirements of the breath-test can only be requested in certain well specified circumstances (i) involvement in an accident, (ii) moving a vehicle, (iii) when there is reason to suspect the driver has been drinking and no other road user, such as passengers or pedestrians, can be required to give a blood test."

It was precisely for this reason that the motoring organisation supports the introduction of the this measure.

Mr Meacher's question as for the names of every person named in police custody since 1970, the Home Office said that it was not possible to provide the names of those named in police custody since 1970, the date, and who was on the death certificate. The Home Office are to write to him when they have collected the information.

Public control of the police

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Reforms proposed to cut damage caused by lorries

By Our Motoring Correspondent

A radical change in practices within the road haulage industry to alleviate the social and environmental damage caused by heavy lorries is urged by the Council for the Protection of Rural England in its report.

The council says that at least 170,000 of the 207,000 miles of British roads are unsuitable for heavy vehicles, yet the present system of road classification brings few restrictions on use and none on access. "We consider this to be a major cause of the increasing public feeling against these vehicles," the report adds.

Outlining a four-point plan for reform, the council proposes that where possible heavy lorries should be confined to specific routes and should be kept off roads that were not designed for them.

Secondly, there should be improvement in the distribution of goods. The council says that transshipment depots, bulking

and breaking centres, freight containers, and other facilities and demountables all have parts to play in reducing the need for heavy lorries.

Thirdly, the council calls for better transport planning. The aim must be to reduce the empty running of lorries and raise the level of vehicle use.

Finally, it says that more freight should go by rail. If British Rail was made more competitive by the provision of extra funds to increase its share of the freight market.

The council is strongly opposed to the European Community's plans for bigger and heavier lorries. Until the United Kingdom has solved its present problems, caused by 32-ton lorries, no increase to 40 or 44 tonnes can be contemplated.

The report also says the sheer physical size of lorries causes fear for the safety of children, pedestrians and cyclists.

Lorries versus People and the Environment (Council for the Protection of Rural England, 4 Hobart Place, London, SW1, 9pp).

Inquiry urged into deaths in police custody

By Peter Evans
Home Affairs Correspondent

A government inquiry into deaths in police custody is being called for by Mr Michael Meacher, Labour MP for Blakenham, in an early day motion to be tabled in Commons this week.

He said yesterday that he had also put down a parliamentary question seeking figures for deaths in police custody since 1970, the date, and who was on the death certificate. The Home Office are to write to him when they have collected the information.

Public control of the police

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Say 'the Leeds' and you're smiling

Safety valves for a child's Christmas

museum itself is closed.
If you are anywhere near Matlock, it might be amusing to watch the Raft Races run between Matlock Bridge and just below Matlock Bath. You can walk the three miles from start to finish if you feel keen. They start at 10.30.
Even if you go to watch a sport you know almost nothing about, it will be interesting to soak in the atmosphere and watch the characters there.
There is horse racing at Kempton on Boving Day, and racing at Brands Hatch (for details ring 0744 872321).

Starts 15.00. For older children Free tickets (send s.a.c.) from Mrs E. M. Urell at the Society's HQ.

Museum of London. London W.C.2. Wall, London EC2Y 5HN. Tel: 01-600 3599. Jan 2, 'The Vikings in England' by Dr David Wood.

ber 29, Prof Percy Press
Traditional Punch & Judy
January 2, 3, The Move-
-Dress Show—the effect
-es on dancers' and pup-
-ement, 11.30 each day

"Microbes & Folklore"
10.00: "Microbes in History"
14.00: Lectures by Prof. D. E. Hughes, in the Rorden Smith Lecture Theatre, Oldfield Centre, Ring the Museum School Service (0222 387951) before coming.

Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists, 27 Christ Church Lane, NW1 4EQ
10.262-1523 Dec 19, Christmas mass Crib to Intensive Care Unit", illustrated lecture by Prof. A. D. H. Browne. Starts 15.00. Ages 12-18. Free tickets for school children.

Royal College of Physicians in London, 11 St Andrew's Place, London NW1 4LE, Dec 18
"The Medicines you Take - for good or for ill". Illustrated lecture by Dr. D. Russell. Starts 19.00. Free tickets for school children.

Man Museum, London
Forest Hill, London
BPQ. Tel. 01-699 1872

Registrar:
Royal College of Surgeons of
England, Lincoln's Inn Fields,
London WC2A 3BN. Tel: 01-583
"Surgeons, Sheikhs & Serpents"
the role of the vet in comparative
medicine" lecture by Mr
John Cooper: Dec 31 "The
Role of the Veterinary Organiza-
tion in Transplantation"
Prof Roy Caine: Jan 4, "The
Sixth Former & Medicine"
lecture by Prof Harold Ellis:
15.00 each day. Ages 12-16. All
tours of the Hunterian Museum
£1.000. Dec 15-20 "The Hor-
n Unlimited" - a career in "hor-
niculture" lecture by Roy Lar-
caster. Starts 14.30 in the lec-
ture room. New Hall. Ages
approx 12-16. Free tickets for
the Secretary.

Royal Horticultural Society
Horticultural Hall, Victoria
Square, London SW1E 2PW. Tel:
01-583 3131. "The Hor-
n Unlimited" - a career in "hor-
niculture" lecture by Roy Lar-
caster. Starts 14.30 in the lec-
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Marketing Place, London
don W1N 4AD. Tel: 01-580 5531.
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ngham.
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m, Chamberlain Sq.
m R3 3DH tel 021 235

Royal Society of Arts, 1, Adam St., London WC2N 6JZ

Scottish Museum, Chambers St., Edinburgh EH1 1JF.
Tel 225 7534. Dec 27, 28.

Science Museum, S. Kensington
London SW7 2DD, tel. 01-582-
3456 688, Dec. 27, 28, 29, 31,
Jan. 2, 3, musical box demon-
strated 11.30 and 15.00 each day.
Free tickets from the Educa-
tion Service.

Puppets
The new Poika Children's
Theatre in Wimbledon is a
joyous place. You will revel in
the décor, with a fairground
theme downstairs whose details
are firm and never cloy, and the
arabian nights upstairs. It is

Glasgow G414RB, tel. 2725. Activities every Dec. and every weekday Dec 24—Jan 3 except and Jan 1. Almost all craft activities. Sessions Dec 21-23, Fairies Graves—spells and w in conjunction with the ham exhibition (see Exhibition section), 10.00-15.00. Age and over. Bring orange

Circus Parade" was a fine show. The yells and imprecations from the audience were born of real involvement: they had quite a different sound from the orchestrated yelling of "Crackerjack". At the end, heard soft sighs of regret as the parade departed. They have the gift at Polka.

Puppet companies and performances proliferate, though a few of them have much money for publicity. The most complete list of Christmas performances is in the *Playboy*. There is probably in the Dec. Jan issue of "Animations", obtainable for 50p from the Puppet Centre.

Westminster City Art Gallery,
142-144, St. Mary's Street, Manchester M2 3JL

Agnes Whitake

Gerald Davies...
The Guardian
'k' The Daily Telegraph
sometimes it might be
South Wales Echo
man has written a fine
The Spectator

E ARTS

MONDAY BOOK

The new concerto
PendereckiGibson
OW

in Marm

Penderecki composed a concerto between 1974 and 1975 to a commission from the Isaac Stern, its first and next year the soloist in the London Orchestra has played it. The concerto is a post-war work, and its first performance, at the Edinburgh Festival, was a triumph. It is a concerto for orchestra and piano, and its first performance, at the Edinburgh Festival, was a triumph. It is a concerto for orchestra and piano, and its first performance, at the Edinburgh Festival, was a triumph.

one sustained note, rather like a key-note, and distinctly reminiscent of a famous moment in Mendelssohn's violin concerto, against which new, varied incidents are proposed. There ensues music of unrestrained solo virtuosity, a full-scale violin cadenza with orchestral interruptions and a grotesquely sinister scherzo-march—both of these recapitulated in the conclusion of the exposition's varied return. They are all varieties of what theoreticians call "development". Finally the soloist brings back, and takes part in, the music of the introduction, soaring for the last time to radiate consolation upon what at first had betokened deepest grief.

"A backward step for Penderecki", commented one of his admirers regretfully; another, more enthusiastic, wondered how we are to connect the new violin concerto to the Penderecki music that we already know and regard as one composer's individual voice. Kean Hargrave, who observes possible reminiscences of Bartók and Berg, perhaps Sibelius or Tchaikovsky, but in the high, sensuous violin solo also of the composer's contemporary Szymborski. Yet Penderecki's violin concerto does not sound like a derivative post-war, nor even untypical of his kind.

All his major earlier works were intent on formal and expressive coherence; the scherzo was not his musical personality but a method of communication, here replaced by another more explicit, at least as coherent, and thoroughly idiosyncratic both in its musical language and in its grandeur of formal scale. There were portraits, in the Symphony and the Partita for harpsichord and chamber orchestra, as well as in the big vocal works, of Hans Kelsen, who composed this greatly eloquent violin concerto.

I attended the first German performance of it at Stuttgart in May (and have written shortly about it in our forthcoming *Festivals Supplement*). The Glasgow performance was a strikingly more confident and robust, reflecting the SNO's familiarity with contemporary orchestral music of all sorts, and Gibson's unhesitant predilection for the grand gesture, and the challenging vocabulary. Mr Paul's account of the solo part for flute, but never glib, full of expressive intensity and delight in meaningful bravura, rather than ostentatious, most persuasive.



Victoria Chaplin: a marvellous poignancy

Where small really is beautiful

Every other circus wants to be the Greatest Show on Earth. Jean-Baptiste Thierres and Victoria Chaplin want their "Cirque Imaginaire" to be the smallest. When they first launched it at the 1971 Arvon Festival, it had 30 artists and a lot of animals. Since then they have come a long way. "The show," says Jean-Baptiste, "has evolved little by little like a patchwork, gently from country to country and dream to dream."

Their quest for a quintessential, universal vision of Circus has developed so far that it has led them to change the name from "Cirque Bonjour" to "Cirque Imaginaire". Today the show has been refined to a point where it consists for the most part of two performers—Jean-Baptiste and Victoria—two musicians, and several very small and "badly educated" animals.

The Chaplins arrived at the Riverside Studios in their caravans last week, after having spent the night in a cemetery. They are accompanied by their three children and various helpers. The badly educated animals at present consist of two voracious goats, half a dozen doves, two crows, and a David-and-Goliath team of white rabbits.

They will be appearing at the Studios for two weeks. It is not usual for them to stay so long at one place; though their first Paris season in November 1978 was so successful that they were brought

back for a second season in the New Year. Generally though the last eight years have been spent touring small towns in Europe, pitching their tents where a takes their fancy and advertising the show by means of drum and crier.

The Thierres came together in 1970. Victoria is the third of the five daughters of Charlie Chaplin, who evidently thought highly of her comic gifts, and designed the leading role of *The Freak*, his last, uncompleted film project, for her. When technical problems finally halted work on the film, Victoria left home for the circus, and her romantic clown, Jean-Baptiste.

Jean-Baptiste had never any doubts that the circus was his destiny. At 17 he had charge of 17 elephants. He was then a slight lad, though, and found the work too hard-going. He drifted into backstage and extra work in the theatre, joined Roger Planchon's company, and was spotted as a production of *Edward II* by Alain Resnais, who gave him a leading role in *Muriel*. The irresistible lure of the circus, however, inevitably robbed the French cinema of a promising young premier.

Like most of the great show-business partnerships, their own stage roles are reversed in private life. In the circus, Jean-Baptiste is shambling, wide-eyed and loquacious (though maybe he will be less so in London since he speaks no English), with a broad, amiable, somewhat fishy, which is solemn, poker-faced and mute.

In private Victoria is jolly and chatty, though shy; while Jean-Baptiste is quiet, intensely serious, dedicated to the history, traditions and techniques of circus, and conjuring. In London they love to go to Davenport's magic shop near the British Museum, to inspect all the new or second-hand paraphernalia of illusion.

Their deep reluctance to talk to press people is as much due to personal shyness as to a quite modest belief that all they know how to say is said in the show. "Having no explanation to give," announces Jean-Baptiste, "no theory or defence, no ideology to promote, no anecdote to tell and no confidence to reveal, we just content ourselves with putting on the show. The Cirque Imaginaire is our way of speaking to the public. It is also our way of meeting the press—the only way possible."

The seriousness is not affected. There is nothing precious or self-consciously poetic about the Cirque Imaginaire. They set out with the pure spirit of travelling entertainers, honestly striving to give their audience the best of which they are capable.

The show is quite likely to have changed radically since their Paris season. Then, however, their "turns" alternated and contrasted. Jean-Baptiste would trundle beaming on with his handkerchiefs painted with landscapes, out of which he produced his tricks: a school of idiot paper fish which enacted a marine soap-opera;

a variety of conjuring tricks, in which the two white rabbits collaborated, in their uneducated fashion.

Victoria performed a nervous tight-rope act, played the accordion, went through an elaborate routine with fans of all shapes, sizes and colours with which she transformed herself into a butterfly, ballerina and Boucher ladies. In London she will certainly present her masterpiece, the Melomane, in which she is uncomfortably hung about with bells, rattles, bones, accordion and a skeleton umbrella with musical metal cylinders descending from the ribs. With infinite study she turns herself into a tune.

There is always a marvellous poignancy about her. Her expression never changes even by the flicker of an eye; but she always conveys a touching, child-like anxiety that it might all go wrong; and beautiful ecstasy when it does not.

The Thierres open tomorrow night, and meanwhile Riverside have discovered that even an imaginary circus can present quite realistic problems. The caravans had to be parked, the children put in school and replacements found for such animals as were not allowed through the customs. The smallest animals are now happily caged, but Ilga and Betty, the goats, are displaying their bad education by soiling their way indifferently through the furnishings of a dressing room.

David Robinson

The professional family cast

Playing the Empire
By David Holloway
(Harrap, £9.75)
Not Quite a Gentleman
By Roland Culver
(William Kimber, £7.95)

W. J. Holloway
—learned Lear in an afternoon

Immediately at curtain-rise we know where we are. This is the theatre of David Holloway's grandfather, an actor's actor, was playing Kent to Irving's Lear (Lycium, 1892) when Irving, who had no regular understudy, was taken ill. News came at one in the afternoon. W. J. Holloway, called on to read that night, held that Lear in pincer-grip would be intolerable, so he learnt the part. Within five hours he was word-perfect, and that night (we find) he was so successful that Irving shared Lear with him for the rest of the run.

That should be an example to all who have under-valued professionalism. Indeed, the whole book, family history in as simply appropriate format is a reproach to any casual amateur both in matter and manner. Written with affection, impetus, and zest, it should finger in theatre records.

Playing the Empire is a logical title. The cast moves (among much else) to Australia, South Africa, the Far East, with either W. J. Holloway or W. J. Holloway (son) at the core. W. J. who went to Australia as a boy, joined during the 1860s a Brisbane stock company, one that, like others of its kind, supported "a travelling star." It was ordered according to the day's rigid rules: thus the "heavy woman" would play Third Witch in *Macbeth*—a complete mystery, says David Holloway, why the Third Witch should be regarded as superior to the Second, as there is nothing discernible in the text that marks it out as the better role.

That is only a snatch from a book that can hardly be described in detail; like Mrs. Toder's, one goes "a-doggin'" among the tender bits with a fork, an "an-actin' of them."

We move from W. J. in "responsibility" at Brisbane for fifty shillings a week, to his equally versatile and respected son, W. E. (or John) who slept as an infant in a theatre basket—acting across the world several times in the thirteenth floor of a building in Los Angeles, exists through a refrigerator, the appearance of a dead father, open umbrella in hand, floating against the skyline like a Magritte painting, and the incarnation of a pregnant Virgin Mary and a pregnant Joseph, apprehensive of his reception in Bethlehem.

Those are simply or not so simply the scenic effects. Cataloguing the bombardment of ideas is where the difficulties arise. Explaining why Mr. Wilson's work is comical is similarly far from easy.

He does not discriminate in his parades of absurdity, and though his style is not precisely satire it is an unhappy subject that finds itself being treated by his hands.

Margolyes Mordca, the central character in *Flaming Bodies*, is an overweight, paranoid, militant lesbian, fired from her job in a Hollywood film office after she has developed

his own, in the Edwardian West Indies with Matheson Lang and a Bensonian cast; W. E. and Lang, years later, in a cyclone on a voyage from Mombasa to Bombay. It is a century's story of a profession and a period: far-flung, its actors melt away and triumphantly return.

Mr Culver reached Shakespeare late. We have known him most frequently on the West End stage as a wholly professional player in comedy style and timing, and now and then—the husband in *The Deep Blue Sea*, for example—with a moving dignity. His memoir, which ventures into Hollywood, is invariably good-tempered but he is not a professional writer. Safe on the stage, he is less sure on the page, but his manic vision is a name (Maida Van, Roscia Philippi, Alex Ray) can be rather endearing.

J. C. Trewin

ART GALLERIES

BRITISH LITERATURE, J. D. P. Jones, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

Rich and Rich
Nottingham Playhouse

Irving Wards

Usually known to English readers as *Roundheads* and *Peaked Heads* but hitherto unknown to the Nottingham Playhouse, the *Rich and Rich* finally arrives at the Nottingham Playhouse in a thoroughly overhauled version by Kyra Dietz and Alan Brown and with Dietz's songs under the supervision of the Brechtian specialist Benno Jovic.

Geoffrey Reeves's production has all the appearance of a long-meditated project, and I do not wish to hedge by labelling the piece merely as an essentially Brechtian production. I do not believe the production rescues the play from its 45 years of neglect; and on the first contact, I am inclined to go along with the text-books and find the play to blame.

It originated in 1931 as a commissioned adaptation of *Measure for Measure*, which Brecht wished to elaborate into a fable on National Socialism. This theme, though, was dropped, and the model and by the time Brecht completed the work in exile in the mid-thirties, it also embodied an adaptation of Kleider's story of a woman who renounced herself as a privileged bourgeoisie that by declaring war on the state.

So far as Shakespeare is concerned, Brecht transports the action from Vienna to the imaginary land of Velma, where the Vicar tries to avert national collapse by appointing a deputy to impose measures the cannot face himself. Angeles, the fantastical regent, solves the problem by transposing it from a material to an ethnic plane; in short, by a racist dictat separating the Kyrtes (Aryans) from the Kyrtes (Jews), who are supposedly responsible for the country's misfortunes. This has the effect of splitting the opposition, and in particular the working-class "Spanner League", which is suppressed with a coup d'état in return for a punitive salt tax.

The standard objection to the play is that Brecht misread the nature of Nazi ideology by viewing it as capitalism in a new guise. So far as the character of Angeles is concerned, this accusation does not stick. Unlike Arturo Ui, he is a genuine fanatic, played with icy fervour and sincerity by Christopher Etridge on the Nottingham stage.

Brecht's miscalculation, it seems to me, is to have held on obstinately to his Shakespearean model when his own play was tugging to develop a life of its own. *Measure for Measure* is about "sexual morality" and it resists every attempt to wrench it into a drama of the class struggle.

Set on a black and white production is played to the standard Brechtian rules, and despite the quality of some of the older songs and the performances of Miss Jovic and Tammy Ustinov, a weariness sets in as you realize that virtually every scene will be followed by another aggressive, downstage solo.



Lilian Sukis and Brigitte Fassbender

Cosi fan tutte
Covent Garden

William Mann

London audiences are fortunate in Karl Böhm's return to the Royal Opera this month as conductor of Mozart's *Così fan tutte*. He was jubilantly acclaimed before each act on Friday evening, and afterwards when he appeared on stage with the cast and eventually (with Sir Geraint Evans), by himself.

He was London's opportunity to congratulate him in the year of his eighty-fifth birthday.

He has been given a cast both interesting and interesting for this revival of what used to be John Copley's production; the revival (rehearsed by Christopher Kershaw) assumes that nobody acts sincerely; all wear masks, so to speak, and drop them whenever they believe themselves understood. The young ladies swoon when their swains go to war; but each, seeing herself in Alfonso's arms, immediately recovers. Later, with Deslime, they effect the manners of high tragedy, but surreptitiously help themselves to cups of extra chocolate late as soup as the approaches the footlights for her aria. During "Non state ritrosi" Fernando cavorts absurdly in front of Fiordiligi, flashing teeth and eyes, and he pretends in the serenade that his sight-reading is none too confident.

These comic glosses do not spoil the opera and, because

they are all adept, experienced actors, the jokes raise smiles, however obvious. They are less than worthy, though, of Mozart's musical comedy which never lets the mask drop, only permits us to peer through it sometimes. They also offend the cruelty of Alfonso's prank, and the heartlessness of the boys who went through with it. The sadistic element in *Così fan tutte* is generally recognized to escape from it this once was a pleasure, even if a guilty one.

There is the orchestra pit was the day of great Mozart interpreters, controlling the performance with barely perceptible movements of a small baton, and chiefly with the piercing eyes known to those who have sat in front of him (this audience, of course, could not see their effect though we could hear and feel it). Böhm sets steady tempi in *Così fan tutte* almost all the way, sometimes too leisurely for his singers, who showed signs of wanting to move ahead, or to breathe more often than the music allows.

His way draws the honey from Mozart's invention, memorably in Ferrando's "Un'aura amorosa" and Fiordiligi's "Fatti miei", highlights of bel canto for the respective interpreters, Ridiger Wohlers and Lilian Sukis. He enriched our ears too with orchestral textures more grand and affecting than usual, sometimes in sheer sonority, sometimes by drawing out some interval detail.

Sir Geraint's Alfonso, ample and powerful of voice, an active schemer (but never puppeteer,

A Question of Faith
BBC 2

Michael Ratcliffe

One of the most ambitious and haunting television programmes of 1978 was *A Winter's Journey*. Colin Nears's film about the darker side of Franz Schubert. *A Question of Faith* applied similar techniques of argument and presentation to Tolstoy. Where earlier Mr Nears had balanced the conversation of Schubert's friends, impersonated by actors, with his own performance of *Die Winterreise* and related instrumental music, so here he realized the encounter between Tolstoy and death by placing the resigned memories of a domestic interior—the writer, his widow and three of his children in a light and empty house—alongside a complete dramatization of *The Death of Ivan Il'ich*.

If the impact was more muted than that of *A Winter's Journey*, that was, I suspect, only because Tolstoy was denied the musician's peculiar gift to console. In all other respects, from the first flash of the march in the darkened room as Tolstoy tried to put a face to the voice of death in the right, through the embarrassing mortal terrors of his hero, to his own funeral crowds of 1910, *A Question of Faith* was a true companion-piece to its predecessor.

There were two important differences. The artist himself was discreetly impersonated (Harry Andrews, nose spread for the occasion, eyes glaring at the camera), and Mr Nears was able to use archive film. I am not entirely sure why the use of film in *A Question of Faith* enriched the research of the studio work instead of, as in *Suez* 1956, showing it up, except that newsreels of an event only 23 years old offer a distracting and interpretive sophistication of their own, whereas film of Tolstoy is iconographically so fabulous that it becomes a piece of source material as pure as *The Death of Ivan Il'ich* itself.

Mr Nears's programmes are so well attended to in every department that they grip the attention from first to last. There is no padding. *A Question of Faith* was beautifully designed, photographed and edited (respectively by Bernard Lloyd-Jones, Jean Elise and Angus Newton) and written and directed with intelligent clarity by Mr Nears himself.

Above all, like his sombre Schubertian, it was superbly cast. From Michael Smees's narration to Tony Meyer's servant, there was no weak link, neither in the effortless naturalism displayed by the members of the Tolstoy family talking quietly about their husband and father (Annette Crosbie, Patrick Stewart, Jim Norton, Ingrid Isenhardt) nor in the suffocating close-draw, nineteenth-century environment of the Il'ich household, Alan Dobie's sordid and terrified hero is one of the subtlest things he has done.

Flaming Bodies
ICA

Ned Chaillet

Perhaps one ought not to encourage Snoo Wilson. In *Flaming Bodies* alone he calls for a botched rocket launching, the crash of a car through the picture window of an office on the thirteenth floor of a building in Los Angeles, exists through a refrigerator, the appearance of a dead father, open umbrella in hand, floating against the skyline like a Magritte painting, and the incarnation of a pregnant Virgin Mary and a pregnant Joseph, apprehensive of his reception in Bethlehem.

Those are simply or not so simply the scenic effects. Cataloguing the bombardment of ideas is where the difficulties arise. Explaining why Mr Wilson's work is comical is similarly far from easy.

He does not discriminate in his parades of absurdity, and though his style is not precisely satire it is an unhappy subject that finds itself being treated by his hands.

Margolyes Mordca, the central character in *Flaming Bodies*, is an overweight, paranoid, militant lesbian, fired from her job in a Hollywood film office after she has developed

oped a project—in Hollywood parlance, "an idea for a treatment"—in which a movie about "J. Christ" will show Jesus as a woman. Her homosexual boss has taken the project for himself and hired a new English secretary, Irene Goodnight.

Margolyes, rigidly portrayed by Miriam Margolyes, does not give up her project or her office so easily. She has a place, a refrigerator at night for survival.

Mr Wilson is sometimes too prolific in his joke-making, making sallies against topical absurdities of the past week or so, but his manic vision is a kind of tonic against the small-scale confines of most modern playwrighting.

Miss Margolyes receives visitations from Hugh Thomas and Julie Walters that show their acting talent, and the imaginative direction of John Ashford, nicely matched to Mr Wilson's wide-ranging invention.

Flaming Bodies is Hollywood through the eyes of a feminist St John the Divine, or an apocalyptic in the confines of a surreal film. It is a kind of prodigious spending of talent, it is simply a profane and comic Christmas play from Mr Wilson. A writer undoubtedly nursing a project that he considers too extravagant to stage.

In general, though, his pull at our hearts is what we have and gentle, so the physical energy he unleashes in the finale came as something of a surprise, coupled as it was with plentiful volume from the brass (whose sound, by the way, has a cutting edge than is fashionable these days). The hollowness of Tchaikovsky's would-be triumph seemed to be emphasized.

There was Polish music as well as Russian: a set of Four Nocturnes (1957) by Tadeusz Baird, who, if not the best known or indeed most arresting of the Poles of his generation, stands apart for the fineness of his ear for orchestral sound. These brief pieces, scored for seven solo strings, nine wind, piano, harp and percussion, are delicately imagined—full of soft and subtle, warm and shivering, poetically questioning endings, and moments of contained passion (especially in the last two, which embody improvised ostinato flourishes); in the second and third I was struck and attracted by what seemed to be a series of distorted recollections of the opening of Brahms's fourth symphony.

The concerto was Mozart's K459, where Walter Klien was the most accomplished pianist. The orchestra accompanied crisply, and Mr Klien offered many felicities of timing and shaping as well as a crystalline Andante, and nicely smooth semiquavers. It was a lively performance, at quickish tempos, and somehow it was both unassuming in tone yet always hitting at the depths in the music.

Some of the reviews on this page are reprinted from Friday's and Saturday's later editions

SPECIAL REPORTS

Oil sanctions: will the Government simply shelve the Bingham report?

Oil sanctions were pivotal to Britain's Rhodesia strategy, and their abrupt failure was therefore crucial. If oil supplies to Rhodesia had been even partially reduced for any length of time the HMS Tiger and Fearless talks in 1966 and 1968 would hardly have failed, and tens of thousands of Rhodesian lives would have been saved.

As it is, Shell/BP continued until last year to supply the bulk of Mr Ian Smith's oil needs, which means a huge increase in profitable sales as the sanctions years rolled by. Contrary to the present assurances of those responsible for the failure of oil sanctions, that failure was not inevitable. The Bingham Oil Sanctions Report raises the same fundamental issues about executive power, responsibility and control as the Blunt affair. When Lloyd George boldly remarked that "Parliament has no control over the Executive", the theory of ministerial responsibility to the House of Commons was not less conformed to the practice.

A generation later our antiquated machinery of government, watched over by backbench MPs of diminished independence, seems unequal to its democratic task.

an unbearably rawdy glamour, the Bingham Report exposes, a more damaging conspiracy, whether looked at in terms of integrity of government, waste of taxpayers' money or lives lost.

The understandable anxiety of the Shellmen, Mandarins and politicians involved to play down the consequences of sanctions-breaking should fool no one. The revelations of Blunt and Bingham were forced on the Government. One wonders how typical they are of the inner workings of our secretive democracy. Both tales have thrown up unerring confirmation of what many suspect, namely that Prime Ministers are not always informed, let alone consulted, on some of the most important issues confronting their governments. In Bingham, the revelation is particularly striking, because the ignorance of Mr Harold Wilson and Mr Edward Heath was, it would seem, total until broken by the publication of the report.

On February 1 this year, the House of Commons, on a free vote, resolved by 146 votes to 57 to set up a special commission on oil sanctions. The inquiry was, uniquely, to have

access to Cabinet papers. It would sit in private; would report without publication of supporting evidence; and would be chaired by a senior judge who would prevent confidential documents. It's terms of reference were "to consider following the report of the Bingham inquiry, the part played by those concerned in the development and application of the policy of oil sanctions against Rhodesia with a view to determining whether Parliament or Ministers were misled, fraudulently or otherwise, and to report."

A week later, the House of Lords declined, by 102 votes to 58, to support the Commons' resolution, although on February 12 this year Mr Michael Foot stated that the Government would not be put off, and would "come forward with proposals for dealing with the situation."

It never did. Since the new Government was elected in May repeated questions in the House as to the progress of the special commission have been met with the response that the Government were still considering the matter.

Almost more unimpressive than the Government's failure to have been the ensuing failure of

the main part of the informed public to latch on to the unexplored constitutional importance of Bingham. Those who have studied it compare British reaction unfavourably with American response to Watergate.

If one is looking for reasons, the sheer size and complexity of the report has much to do with it. It is over 500 pages long; un-indexed; only partly digested internally; and as a result impenetrable to all but the most dedicated explorer. It is unlikely that it has been mastered by more than a handful of people (most of them oil company lawyers, I suspect). In addition, some MPs are discouraged from pursuing the report because of the reputational issues which may be further brushed by no doing. For example, Lord Thomson (now at the IRA) is an honoured figure in modern British politics, but also deeply implicated in the story. Sir Frank Macfarlane (just appointed to head Rolls-Royce, besides being one of the Prime Minister's informal advisers, is both a pillar of private enterprise as well as involved up to the hilt with Shell's conduct during the relevant years.

However, in its manifesto this year, the Conservative Party stated "with admirable clarity" "we will see that Parliament and no other body stands at the centre of the nation's life and decisions, and we will seek to make it effective in its job of controlling the executive."

The Government will be sorely tempted in the wake of a Rhodesia settlement which now, hopefully, seems probable to "let bygones be bygones."

Ministers inclined to take this line of least resistance could do worse than review the impressive Bingham debate in the Commons of November 7, 1979, where one backbencher after another, from every side, expressed anger at the contents of the report and a determination to investigate the constitutional issues which Bingham was never asked to consider. Mr Edward du Cane, for example, spoke for the best traditions of Westminster when he said "I think that I should re-emphasise my reasons for declaring so strongly that the matter cannot be left as it stands. My first point is this. We in this Parliament appear to have connived at sanctions breaking on a massive scale. Of course we did not mean it. That is not what we intended."

But that is what we appear to have done. We must not now condone what has happened. The buck stops here."

In his classic work on the British constitution, Sir Ivor Jennings wrote of ministerial responsibility that "all decisions of any consequence are taken by Ministers, either as such or as members of the Cabinet. All decisions taken by civil servants are taken on behalf of Ministers and under their control."

A special commission would find it difficult to relate to Rhodesia oil supplies the decisions were effectively taken by Shell/BP; that government Ministers were more under the control of their civil servants than vice versa; that Parliament was manipulated by its Ministers; that those Ministers were, in their turn, grossly deceived by Shell, as were their civil servants before that. If, as *The Sunday Times* reported yesterday, the oil companies involved, including Mr Denis Thatcher's Carrol, are not to be prosecuted, the need to resuscitate the special commission is the more important.

Andrew Phillips

Eric Heffer

Consensus: it's been tried before

Ray Jenkins' Richard Dimbleby Lecture has again underlined consensus politics on the political stage, even if only as a talking point. I say "only as a talking point" because I believe that practical support for the new centre grouping is a necessary condition of any serious attempt to change the British political scene. Most right-wing Labour MPs will either dissociate themselves from him, as did David Owen, or keep their heads down, despite Bill Rodgers' statement at Aberystwyth. Talk of a split is mainly a long way from reality. There are few Tories who believe that the British people have rejected, and it was certainly not a consensus to which Mr Thatcher successfully appealed during the general election of 1979. There are a few Tories who believe that the British people have rejected, and it was certainly not a consensus to which Mr Thatcher successfully appealed during the general election of 1979. There are a few Tories who believe that the British people have rejected, and it was certainly not a consensus to which Mr Thatcher successfully appealed during the general election of 1979.

'Can it honestly be said that the electorate in the South and South-East voted for consensus when they deserted Labour in their thousands and turned to the Conservatives?'

The crisis facing our police forces

The growing debate about public control of the police is given outspoken impetus today by Mr John Alderson, Chief Constable of Devon and Cornwall.

In his book *Policing Freedom*, Mr Alderson writes: "Police have to remember that restrictions which the law on public opinion impose are not imposed in their path but safeguards of individual rights and liberties for which the police exist to protect."

The debate has been brought to a climax by police calls for new powers (especially in evidence to the Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure) and public concern about the deaths of Blair Peach after a Southall demonstration — and James Kelly, of Merseyside, following the outcry over the death of Liddle Towers, in Durham last year.

One strand in the debate, though not in the three deaths, is the use of firearms and technology, like hidden cameras, computers, bugging, equipment. Another is the degree to which police should enter the political arena in pursuit of the goals they think desirable. A Bill introduced by Mr Jack

Sraw MP (Labour MP for Blackburn) after the election, the powers and duties of police authorities in respect of the operations and organisation of police forces, is due to receive a second reading on December 7.

Before the general election, Mr Sraw's Bill was published as a newspaper advertisement. It said: "There is no excuse for crime. Our laws and courts must reflect that concept. Crimes of violence must be met with the severest penalties. The powers of juvenile courts must be restored to allow them to determine the appropriate punishment for offenders. Sufficient secure accommodation must be provided for these sentenced to detention."

In March, Mr Jardine was quoted as saying after the shooting of a teenage gunman: "This is the third time within a year that a police officer has had to shoot a member of the public. I think it is regrettable in this day and age and my thoughts are with the policeman, not the victim. The police are going to be under pressure for having had to do this, to take over the

role of executioner." After the election of Commons decision not to restore capital punishment, the Police Federation said that, as a result, more policemen would be forced to carry guns. And in May, Constable Paul Midson, chairman of the Federation's Constables' Committee, was quoted as saying that people who got hurt while attending demonstrations which turned violent had only themselves to blame and should not be white-washed afterwards.

Controversy had earlier been caused when Cleveland police installed a camera in a public house, to try to detect alleged trafficking in drugs.

Mr Christopher Payne, the Chief Constable, said: "We have been fully supported in our action both by the law and the license. The use of such equipment is strictly controlled and requires the prior approval of a senior police officer. This has been given after a careful study of the circumstances."

And Mr David Powis, a Deputy Assistant Commissioner at Scotland Yard believes hidden cameras have been shown to be of vital corroborative value for the police in trying

to catch pickpockets and burglars. A film of pickpocket in action was shown as part of the case against 19 young blacks. At the end of the hearings, Judge Abdela, QC, praised the use of cameras and said more use should be made of them.

Such issues raise the question as to how far police authorities should be able to control police operational policies. The police fear that too much power in the hands of an authority might open the way to improper political control and interference with the police duties to enforce the law.

But Councilor Margaret Simey, Labour spokeswoman on Merseyside Police Committee, said on the BBC programme *Newsnight* (October 19) that "new powers" were "extremely good" and "chief constables had emerged. She said: "I have the greatest respect for them, and at the same time the Police Committee has become more and more of a prestige committee. It is not a body which is to be feared. The result is they've taken over all the policing field and the whole field of political responsibility and we've nothing left to do."

Knowsley Borough Council went so far as to set down a motion expressing alarm at allegations about police activity in the Heyton area and called on the Home Secretary to set up a public inquiry. The motion was passed unanimously.

In answering his Bill to amend the Police Act 1964, Mr Sraw told the House: "Some of the Chief Constables have not confined themselves to policing policies but have been willing to engage in explicit political controversy. Such new assertiveness had led, and would lead, to increasingly strained relations between police authorities and their chiefs."

Mr Alderson, a pioneer of new forms of community policing, said in his book: "A superior democratic police system must recognise the danger of too direct a link between a political machine and day-to-day police operations. In a democratic society, police can be abused by being made to serve the narrower political purposes of those occupying political office for the time being."

But he admits that the policing of Western democracies is in a crisis. The internal crisis reflects the desire for ever more freedom, the external crisis—the growth of international terrorism. At every turn police methods, organisation and operations are questioned. It was not sufficient merely to graft technology in the form of cars, radios and computers onto an essentially 19th century police style.

Referring to the demands made upon the police by organised crime and terrorism, he says: "Those demands will be better met by police and public in close with each other, responding and understanding each other and finally prepared to trust each other."

He adds: "If democratic police are unable to adapt to the changing surroundings of a changing world, they will, like any other institution, lose their place and will be taken by a much less attractive method of policing."

Policing Freedom by John Alderson (Macdonald and Evans Ltd, £7.50)

Peter Evans
Home Affairs Correspondent

Ulster: 'why the violence will go on'

An American sociologist, Miss Martha Crenshaw of Wesleyan University, Connecticut, has prepared a report on Irish terrorism for the State Department which concludes that violence would continue in Northern Ireland even if all the legitimate grievances of the Catholics were met and a new power-sharing executive established.

This pessimistic view is not shared by the department, which is therefore most concerned to insist that the views expressed are Miss Crenshaw's own. She is preparing a lengthy study on international terrorism since the nineteenth century and her study of the IRA grew out of this work.

She writes, in her conclusion, that "The British approach to political mediation assumes

that if a power-sharing compromise were reached, the IRA, deprived of Catholic support, would fade away. This may not be an accurate estimate of the situation."

"IRA dogma insists that Republican goals and methods are right by virtue of transcendental sanction, regardless of the day and age and my thoughts are with the policeman, not the victim. The police are going to be under pressure for having had to do this, to take over the

"If terrorism is not a reflection of genuine grievances, and if there will always be a layer of passive supporters among the Catholic population, solving the political conflict might not

halt terrorism." She says that "the British Government is apparently reconciled to a policy of containment and tolerance of a low level of violence for an indefinite period."

She writes of the IRA, "Notwithstanding the vagueness, simplicity and parochialism of its ideology, the organization has demonstrated extraordinary tenacity, resilience and efficiency. It retains a residual level of Catholic support, is well-financed and well-armed, and shows no sign of disappearing from the scene."

She says that the IRA is now a "tightly-organized, classic underground network, based on independent cells in contrast to the openness and lax security of the IRA in the early Seventies, the post-1977 IRA maintains strict security among active members. Now a thoroughly professional terrorist organization, it has an active membership of about 500 militants led by a stratum of intelligent, astute and experienced terrorists."

Miss Crenshaw also mentions the Irish National Liberation Army, formed in 1975 by Marxist members of the IRA. She says that it has 40 to 50 activists, who are very efficient and well-connected with other foreign left-wing terrorist organizations. It was responsible for the murder of Airey Neave last spring.

"Whereas the IRA is very much an indigenous terrorist group, inspired by its own parochial traditions and particularistic goals, the INLA is cast in the ideological mould of modern terrorism. It is a product of European, groups who also profess a corrupt form of Marxist millennialism."

She says that most funds for the IRA come from bank robberies in the Republic, but that considerable funds continue to arrive from North America, gathered by the Northern Aid Committee (NORAD) and the Irish National Caucus. As for the security of the IRA, she writes: "As long as British troops are present and Irish lads are in British prisons, there will be

enough hatred of the British to inspire sympathy for any group engaged in 'dropping bombs'."

"The IRA programme assumes that if the British left, Protestants could either be persuaded or coerced into a confederate state that would have guaranteed for the minority. This view is exceedingly naive and disastrously self-conceited."

She says that the main success of the terrorists is its destruction of Stormont and its main failure, that it never made Northern Ireland an important issue in domestic British politics. The effects of terrorism in Northern Ireland, she says at one point, are "nothing short of calamitous" because of the hatred it has induced between the communities. On the other hand, she claims that the Catholics are clearly better off under the Northern Ireland Office than they were under Stormont. As for the Protestants, Miss Crenshaw writes: "At best, the reactions of the Protestant majority were those of a besieged minority. The religious element adds to the fear of poli-

tical domination. Protestants in the North seem to fear the Roman Catholic Church as much as the actual political threat to their status; that a united government would pose."

"The problem of identity seems to be an important aspect of the differences between Catholic and Protestant in Ulster, as it particularly accounts for the deep-seated hostility of the religious factor. Politically, the majority in Northern Ireland was no identity. Despite the label 'loyalists', their loyalty to the English Crown is contingent on British upholding Protestant domination."

Alliance to Britain results from political interest and residual loyalty. Identification with Irish nationalism is impossible, but there appears to be little purely Ulster patriotism or nationalism. Confronted with a threat perceived as religious as much as political, Protestants defensively cling to their faith as the symbol of common identity."

Patrick Brogan



YOUR HELP
is a matter of life and death
in KAMPUCHEA

Red Cross food and medical supplies are reaching Kampuchea daily, and we continue to extend their distribution. Now we are setting up medical teams, with field hospitals and intensive feeding units, at camps for refugees in Thailand.

As an independent voluntary relief organisation, we urgently need more cash to support our expanding operations. Please help by sending as much as you can, as quickly as you can. An up-to-date progress report on these Red Cross relief operations will be sent on request. SASE appreciated.

The Red Cross
British Red Cross Kampuchea Appeal, Dept. K19
9 Grosvenor Crescent, London SWX 7EJ.

(If you require receipt please enclose SASE)
I enclose £... as my contribution to the Kampuchea Appeal.
Name.....
Address.....

Searching for scapegoats on whom to blame their torment over the Tehran hostages, many Americans have turned to Henry Kissinger, the former Secretary of State, and Mr David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank.

While few would go so far as the Iranian spokesman as to describe the pair as "dehumanized and sinister elements", there is a pervasive belief that these powerful men persuaded a reluctant administration to let the Shah come here for medical treatment although they knew it would place Tehran embassy staff in danger.

Much of the obloquy has been aimed at Dr Kissinger, already under criticism from liberals following revelations about his role in the destruction of Cambodia. He has consistently denied putting any pressure on the administration to admit the Shah.

His co-defendant, Mr Rockefeller, has made no such denial, yet he has been left off lightly. He prefers to shun the limelight and communicates with the world chiefly through opaque press statements.

On this occasion the statement was explicit. "I was reliably informed," he said, "that while in Mexico his (the Shah's) health had seriously deteriorated" and the State Department was so advised.

"I then helped to arrange for having a prominent doctor, Dr Benjamin Kean, visit with him at his home in Mexico and when his condition had improved, I assisted in having

the results of that examination brought to the attention of the State Department."

He added: "I was convinced that he was a real friend of this country for the role he played in the Shah's flight from Iran. That is true, as it is true that in any all-time league table of world tyrants, the Shah would come nowhere near the top. The United States administration knew the risk they would be taking in admitting him, and the fact that Mr Rockefeller was able to persuade them to do so indicates the power that he and his wealthy family wield."

His efforts on behalf of the Shah became known as long ago as last April, when *The New York Times* carried a front page report that he and Dr Kissinger had been urging that he be admitted, and that they had "agreed" to request the Shah's admission to carry a message to the ex-monarch telling him to stay away from the United States.

Another source of his influence is the Council on Foreign Relations, a superior think tank which cuts across party lines and which has provided a refuge for Mr Rockefeller, Zbigniew Brzezinski, the last two presidential security advisers (John Foster Dulles and Adlai Stevenson) were also members. A further strand in the web is that Dr Kissinger came into public prominence as a protégé of Mr Rockefeller's elder brother, Nelson Rockefeller.

The report added prophetically: "What the administration officials were most worried about was mob action against Americans if the Shah



came to the United States, or even some effort to hold Americans in Iran hostage in exchange for the extradition of the Shah."

Mr Rockefeller's influence on the administration is derived from a number of sources. To begin with, the chairman of the nation's third largest bank, with assets of more than \$3 billion dollars (£2 billion) is ex-officio a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. The Chase Manhattan Bank has huge investments internationally, and it has been surmised that Mr Rockefeller may know personally more heads of governments than the President does. Bankers are not always to be reckoned with, especially in Latin America and South-East Asia, have been less than savoury. Dr Kissinger, as it often happens, the largest and quickest profits

can often be made in the riskiest and nastiest environments.

David Rockefeller is the father of the five sons of John D. Rockefeller, the son of the original John D. Rockefeller, the oil magnate who founded the family's fortune. All the Rockefellers have been in public life, most have been extremely generous philanthropists, but many have been afflicted by accidental misfortunes which have served to sour their public image.

The original John D. Rockefeller became, while amassing his millions, the most unpopular man in America. He ruthlessly tried to corner the entire oil market and would have succeeded had not the Federal Government intervened, and forced him to break up his monstrous holding company, Standard Oil of New Jersey. By living until the age of 98, however, he managed in the end to create a more benign persona.

The second John Rockefeller came across as altogether more genteel, some said ineffectual. He funded several national parks and organized the recreation of a colonial village at Williamsburg, Virginia. He built the Rockefeller Centre, still New York's finest commercial land development, and his first wife founded the City Museum of Modern Art. During the First World War he established funds for the welfare of the armed forces.

His second son, Nelson Rockefeller, had the most public career of them all. Governor of New York from 1959 to 1970, Vice-President of the United States from 1974 to

1977, he failed in several attempts to be nominated as the Republican party's candidate for President, partly because many people were concerned by the bluff, bull-fellow-well-met manner he adopted. He did not hide his disappointment at not gaining the highest office.

Although his governorship was notable for many positive achievements, it is likely that he will be best remembered for one of its tragedies, the Attica prison riot of 1971, in which 42 people were killed after he refused to go and meet the rioters and instead sent in the National Guard. (The incident paralleled in some ways the footage-taking in Tehran.)

By any standards, Nelson Rockefeller's life was one of success. But a first disappointment came when he was elected to the New York State legislature. He was exposed as utterly helpless unable to speak for even the most elementary ingredients of diplomacy: the safety of the State. It was a disaster, the "last pretensions" of the United Nations would have been rebuffed.

This fear has been expressed before, and can be answered simply with the platitudes of the United Nations: influence the actions only of other members who agree to influence. To deal with government which first asks the Security Council to act, and then denounces it as a puppet institution, would strain any international body. He should, though, have learned an important lesson from the incident: that in a crisis modern world, those who wish to do lucrative business with foreign countries, should be careful to develop personal or personal loyalties strong to be shocked at circumstances change. Americans are entitled to expect their businessmen to conduct the same courtesy and the same courtesy. He may go to bed with his pen in his hand, as long as he is not being hit in the house.

dangered by events in Iran that of the United Nations, stretching a point, we can find a Rockefeller connection at the heart of the matter. It was built, donated by John D. Rockefeller Jr. You cannot escape this. The New York Times editorialized a common fear last week when it wrote of the danger that the United Nations "be exposed as utterly helpless unable to speak for even the most elementary ingredients of diplomacy: the safety of the State. It was a disaster, the 'last pretensions' of the United Nations would have been rebuffed."

This fear has been expressed before, and can be answered simply with the platitudes of the United Nations: influence the actions only of other members who agree to influence. To deal with government which first asks the Security Council to act, and then denounces it as a puppet institution, would strain any international body.

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Michael Leapman



New Printing House Square, London, WC1X 8EZ. Telephone: 01-837 1234

TRAINING FOR A CEASEFIRE

is still substantial reason to expect that Mr Nkomo and Mr Mugabe, the Patriotic Front leaders, will agree to a ceasefire. They certainly do not have the licence from their indolent backers in the "front" states to stick to their ideological positions at the point at which the new critical strains upon those states must be felt. The problem for Lord Carrington is, simply put (the terms of the judgement are not clear), how far he can give ground and time without justifying the counter-attacks from the Salisbury and new negotiations entailing that would dissolve the armistice prospect. This is now a factor in not confined to Lancaster but exemplified by the British office in Salisbury. The Army's preparations to move, the plans of African states to join in a campaign, the preparations by guerrillas on the borders where they are deployed, African states generally are now countering rather than doubting, the intent.

Lord Carrington is

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squeezed a little more than one would expect. His natural anxieties over the lapse of valuable time hidden behind an olympian calm—a posture that has disconcerted them at times. Indeed they are now trying to sound more unruffled and reasonable than Lord Carrington himself. Finally if they are, as they seem to be, gearing up for an election in earnest, every day gained may be of help in getting their supporters, whether civilians or guerrillas in "mud" into positions for a campaign everyone knows will be rough.

On the other hand Salisbury, while in the past it may have expected or hoped that intransigence on the part of the Patriotic Front would precipitate a defensible deal between Britain and Bishop Muzorewa, knows that it dare not appear to be responsible for a last-minute breakdown. For it to be the one to cry a *tutu continua* would be a gift to those who exorcise it round the world as the Smith regime in a black disguise—a settled hostility which has been South Africa has been propping up Salisbury militarily as well as economically. Therefore, Salisbury's responses at this stage must be reasonable too, in the competition for world opinion. So there is still some give on that side.

Lord Carrington has already used such scope for manoeuvre in the past few days by amending the British ceasefire plan to meet some guerrilla arguments. He has for example responded to the Patriotic Front's professed fear that the Salisbury forces would be as liable to exploit their defencelessness (real or

supposed) under British command as under General Walls by increasing the British and Commonwealth monitoring teams. But the Patriotic Front asks more in their paper which the Foreign Office finds so unreasonable. They want the Salisbury forces confined to barracks to match the concentration of the guerrillas in assembly point, they want to ground Salisbury's warplanes, and ask for more Commonwealth monitors.

Lord Carrington may well feel that to concede some of these demands would frighten Salisbury, both in terms of genuine security (the risk of a guerrilla breakout) and in terms of election slogans ("we beat the Smith troops into their barracks"). Such points can be made endlessly. Where to call halt is the essence of the judgement Lord Carrington has to make. Whatever he decides, both sides will complain of being handicapped, to keep open the option of rejecting the election verdict.

The British decision where to draw the line must be made solely on the facts, not on points of ministerial punctilio—including the realistic assessment of the risks Britain is taking. For the British decision now—and British actions later—will have to be defended against a host of objectors who will at best wish to attack its fairness, at worst to fix the whole blame for any future catastrophe on Britain. Tired as every one is, no doubt, a little longer time spent in wrestling with Mr Nkomo and Mr Mugabe is worthwhile to ensure that the Nigerians, for example, have no excuse for concluding that Britain has broken its pledges at Lusaka.

British Steel's future

From Sir Charles Villiers

Sir, Yes, the British Steel Corporation "carried downwards" on a tide of adversity (your leading article of November 30). We cannot do better than our customers, whose demand for bulk steel is being drastically reduced. As you say, "nothing short of a radical new appraisal stands a chance". But you do not mention that:

(1) In the last two years BSC's workforce has been reduced by 25,000.

(2) In the last few weeks BSC has given notice of closure of iron and steel making at Corby and Shotton.

(3) We have put into production plans in Scotland and Teesside, representing £800 million of investment, planned to international levels.

We are fighting to keep the balance of payments, the taxpayers, the customers and those who work in steel.

Through the four years of steel crisis we have held market share of 15% of the world's steel. The UK private sector's share of 25 per cent (partly based on BSC's steel-making steel), this has left the UK with a steel export level of 20.2 per cent, the lowest in the EEC.

We now have a new situation in steel. BSC faces the rapid and observable decline of many of the world's steel industries.

A further reduction in demand is inevitable, to get to a "core" which we can defend with confidence and expand with opportunity and good performance.

The how of this is what we are seeking to discuss with the unions in steel, whose cooperation in saving the business of BSC is very desirable.

As a great man said of the pre-reformation church: "If it is not reformed from within, it will be reformed by the sword." It is not too late to reform BSC from within and the men who work and manage it deserve support in that, as you say, "to the hilt".

Sincerely,
SIR CHARLES VILLIERS,
Chairman,
British Steel Corporation,
33, Grosvenor Place, SW1.

Price of a mortgage

From the Director of Shelter National Housing Aid Trust

Sir, In reply to the criticism from Mr John Heddle MP (November 29), I would like to state that the point of each other's position, and to maintain an overriding belief in democracy being more important than simply being right.

The Robinson affair and BL senior management view of what is acceptable along with the current government attitude towards local authority activity, offer food for thought on issues of concern. For a party which places so much stress in public debate on political and economic freedom, the restriction on the right to freely organize, speak and publish and the rejection of the operation of market economic forces with the removal of rather than increasing controls, all good conservatives who believe their own rhetoric and are sleeping soundly.

If, for example, we examine the controls which are proposed so far as local government is concerned, and compare actions with talk of "greater autonomy", an interesting picture emerges. It has now been made clear both to the main local authority associations, and in his speech to the consultative council on local authority finance, that the Secretary of State for the Environment intends to use existing powers to penalize local authorities which levy a rate at a percentage yet to be determined, above the ceiling to be announced for their authority. Moves to introduce a unitary grants system from 1981 will further strengthen the power of the Secretary of State in this area but existing proposals which will be placed before Parliament in the report on the Rate Support Grant Order within the next week or two will seek to provide the central government with effective spending, rather than cash limits, and will email the reduction in Rate Support Grant at the time of the increase

It would be of interest if the building societies could give the details of how many people could expect to be able to extend their mortgage and how many would not have the time to do so. It is true that even though building societies are sympathetic, they at the same time have to face economic realities and the effect of that will be that they will be faced with a severe reduction in their living standards and for some the only answer will be to sell their home.

I hope Mr Heddle is right, but experience gives me less optimism. Yours faithfully,
BOR WIDDOWSON,
Shelter National Housing Aid Trust,
157 Waterloo Road, SE1.

Secret jailings

From Mr Walter Greenwood

Sir, The British tradition of open justice seems to be under attack and neither the law officers of the Crown nor the judiciary seem willing or able to do anything about it.

Earlier this month (November 22) a man whose identity, it has been noted, cannot be revealed was jailed for 18 months at St Albans Crown Court and his car was ordered to be forfeited, on a charge of indecent assault, to which he pleaded not guilty.

The reason he cannot be named was that the jury acquitted him of a rape charge under the Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act, 1976—originally intended to protect complainants—a defendant on a rape charge cannot be identified in newspapers or broadcasting unless he is convicted, or in certain other circumstances. No order was made by the learned judge, under Section 6, permitting publication of his name.

An important principle is thus breached—that the identity should be known of those who lose their liberty. It is happening all too frequently when men are cleared of rape but imprisoned on other charges.

The Lord Chief Justice, or Parliament, should consider the implications of secret jailings. Yours sincerely,
WALTER GREENWOOD,
Editorial Training Centre,
Thames Regional Newspapers,
3 Bigg Market, Newcastle upon Tyne

Letters to the Editor

The taking of hostages in Tehran

From Mr M. A. H. Katouzian

Sir, Two weeks ago The Committee for the Defence and Promotion of Human Rights in Iran and its sister organization in Paris, issued separate public statements, protesting against the continued detention of the American Embassy staff in Tehran, on the grounds of the defence and promotion of human rights in that country. Both these Committees still maintain their previous positions, and they both believe that, in the best interests of the hostages as well as Iranian and American people, a peaceful solution to what has now become a grave international crisis must be found. In this connection, we find it necessary to emphasize some aspects of the present crisis which—in the emotionally-charged atmosphere of both these countries—directly affect the Iranian and American public and their Government.

The American Government was directly involved in the coup d'état of August 1953 against a representative as well as democratic Iranian government. It supplied—between 1954 and 1961—the succeeding dictatorial and corrupt regime of the Shah and his conservative allies with massive military and military aid, all of which, together with the relatively limited oil revenues of that period, were spent on the suppression of the basic constitutional rights of Iranian people, and the enrichment of the Shah, his family, his retainers, and a small band of military-bureaucratic officials. From 1963 until 1978, successive American governments publicly and unreservedly supported the Shah's despotic rule with implications of suppression of not only constitutional but the most elementary human rights and freedoms of Iranian people, the Iranian activists of his regime, and the Iranian people's misappropriation as well as public misuse of Iranian oil revenues, his destruction of every vestige of both communal and individual autonomy from the despotic and "neo-feudal" system, and so on, and so forth.

It would therefore be a great mistake if, in their response to the present crisis, the American public ignored these well known facts, and misjudged the situation as one of a smaller factor, holding a much more powerful country to ransom. It is true that the present crisis is likely to have been initiated mainly (if not wholly) for internal (not external) political reasons. But it is no less true that, whereas the occupation of the American Embassy

started as an isolated or factional move, it began to involve the masses of Iranian people only after the American reaction appeared to threaten the independence and integrity of Iran as a whole.

We have little doubt that the great majority of Iranian people—including those of them who, at present, participate in massive daily demonstrations—mean no harm to the American hostages (let alone the American people), and they would be opposed to their mistreatment so long as they do not think that their national sovereignty and territorial integrity is genuinely threatened by a great power which, for reasons briefly described above, is extremely ill-reputed in the country.

If a tragedy, even a catastrophe, involving the lives of American hostages, and the welfare of Iranian people, is to be avoided, the American public and their government must view the situation both in its historical perspective, and especially in its present complexities. Yours faithfully,
HOMA KATOZIAN,
Secretary, The Committee for the Defence and Promotion of Human Rights in Iran,
University of Kent at Canterbury,
November 27.

From Mr John Hunter

Sir, The first paragraph of a dispatch from your New York correspondent (November 26) about what measures should be taken to secure the release of the hostages. The issue is whether the business of nations is to be conducted traditionally according to civilized rules, or whether terrorism is to be accepted as a legitimate weapon of diplomacy. Right now, this is the only question for the United Nations and each nation separately to answer.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN HUNTER,
39 Smith Street, SW3.

Threat to local democracy

From Mr David Blunkett

Sir, At a time of considerable debate surrounding the economic strategy of the Government, it is important to maintain a clear focus on the point of each other's position, and to maintain an overriding belief in democracy being more important than simply being right.

The Robinson affair and BL senior management view of what is acceptable along with the current government attitude towards local authority activity, offer food for thought on issues of concern. For a party which places so much stress in public debate on political and economic freedom, the restriction on the right to freely organize, speak and publish and the rejection of the operation of market economic forces with the removal of rather than increasing controls, all good conservatives who believe their own rhetoric and are sleeping soundly.

If, for example, we examine the controls which are proposed so far as local government is concerned, and compare actions with talk of "greater autonomy", an interesting picture emerges. It has now been made clear both to the main local authority associations, and in his speech to the consultative council on local authority finance, that the Secretary of State for the Environment intends to use existing powers to penalize local authorities which levy a rate at a percentage yet to be determined, above the ceiling to be announced for their authority. Moves to introduce a unitary grants system from 1981 will further strengthen the power of the Secretary of State in this area but existing proposals which will be placed before Parliament in the report on the Rate Support Grant Order within the next week or two will seek to provide the central government with effective spending, rather than cash limits, and will email the reduction in Rate Support Grant at the time of the increase

Nursery education

From Lady Alexandra Trevor-Roper and others

Sir, As reported in your columns (November 14) Oxfordshire County Council has voted to phase out all nursery education throughout the County, overriding its Education Committee. Objectors are already appealing to the Department of Education and Science under Section 8 of the 1944 Education Act, which enjoins local authorities to have regard to the provision of nursery schools or nursery classes.

We believe that the County Council decision should be challenged immediately. Not only is it at certain that a great deal of money would be saved if education committees are forced to abandon nursery schools, since the social services provision will in all probability have to be increased to compensate. At a time when local authorities are being granted greater autonomy through the new Education Bill, it is of vital importance that some safeguards for the continuance of nursery education in accordance with the 1944 Act, albeit recognising the stringent economic circumstances, should be written into the Bill; and it is to be hoped that the Government will ensure that this is achieved.

Yours faithfully,
ALEXANDRA TREVOR-ROPER,
PATRICIA BLAKE,
MARY R. PRICE,
JEAN R. F. WILKS,
MARY WARKOCK,
EVELYN PHELPS BROWN,
JANET TODD,
The White House,
Headington Quarry, Oxford.

Picketing and patients

From Dr Robin Russell Jones and Dr Angela Altman

Sir, Roland Mowle (November 29) wonders whether the recent events at Charing Cross will make the hospital a happier place in which to work. We would like to reassure him on that point.

The counter-demonstration involved all sections of hospital staff and received overwhelming support from everyone in the hospital who cares about the welfare of patients.

For several years, doctors, nurses and staff throughout the Health Service have watched with growing trepidation the emergence of a powerful group within the NHS—the administrative hierarchy on one hand and the union representatives on the other. Neither group are directly involved with the care of patients and one sometimes wonders if they fully comprehend the consequences of their own strategies.

If nothing else, the recent action by medical staff at Charing Cross has served as a reminder to both sides that hospitals were built to look after patients, and they would do well to keep that at the forefront of their minds before they embark upon their next dispute. Yours faithfully,
ROBIN RUSSELL JONES,
ANGIE ALTMAN,
Charing Cross Hospital (Fulham),
Fulham Palace Road, W6,
November 30.

BL management

From Mr Geoffrey Robinson, MP for Coventry North West, Labour

Sir, In view of certain innuendoes I feel it is necessary to refer to Sir Michael Edwards' letter (November 30).

I am not clear what he means by saying that I had a first-hand involvement in many of the company's problems when I was at Levens. If the innuendo is that I was responsible for them and the previous performance of the company, then he should make it clear. My track record could then be put on the line and I would be delighted.

Of course, BL could not be "re-stored to health" in two years. But its performance should have improved over that period, and not deteriorated. If the management was succeeding, that is all I said.

It is rather worrying that Sir Michael cannot, or does not want to, understand plain English. It is equally incomprehensible to me that Sir Michael finds a sneering tone in a constructive letter written more in sad disappointment than scorn by a person who has given the company and himself consistent support since its inception in Parliament over the past two years.

However, there comes a time when home truths have to be spoken. His reasons for BL's failure to improve under his stewardship are the same as we have heard from all previous management. If he really thinks he has the full support of the workforce, he should find the time to visit the plants more often and to listen to, not hear, the men. If he cannot find the time, then he might care to remember something else I told him two years ago about the sheer size and structure of the company he is trying to run. Yours faithfully,
GEOFFREY ROBINSON,
House of Commons,
November 30.

Risks of squash

From Mr M. A. W. Baker

Sir, The views ascribed to the Secretary of the Squash and Racket Association in Trevor Fishlock's timely article on the risks of squash (November 22) are complacent and wrongheaded.

It is nonsense to say that "if the Association endorsed an eye protector it would be accepting that the game is dangerous". There is inevitably a risk of injury; and even if that risk is acceptable for most players, there are some (airline pilots, for example, or molecular biologists like myself) for whom the loss of an eye would spell the loss of their livelihood. It is amazing that Mr Bob Morris's advice to them should be "no more than a 'Play by the rules'".

It is equally astonishing that the sport's senior administrator can claim not to know of injuries sustained when playing it. If you will pardon the expression, it is time that the SRA stopped turning a Nelsonian blind eye to this issue. Yours faithfully,
MARK BAKER,
Jubilee Cottage,
Newtown Common,
Newbury,
Berkshire,
November 22.

Churches and VAT

From the Venerable R Southwell

Sir, Would the Government publish annual figures showing the amount given by state aid and the amount taken for VAT on the repair of churches? (November 30). It would be interesting to see who gained on this transaction; perhaps only the officials concerned.

Yours faithfully,
ROY SOUTHWELL,
71 Gayton Road,
Harrow, Middlesex,
November 30.

A sorry pass

From Mr Ronald Davis

Sir, The last time I apologized for annoying a driver I lowered the window and called out "mea culpa". The other chap said: "James Armitage. You want to be more careful, Mr Cooper!"

I suggest extending the right arm, palm downwards, in the gesture of the tennis player after scoring with a net-cord. Yours faithfully,
RONALD DAVIS,
1 Seaton Burn,
Broughmore Lane,
Skipton,
Devon,
November 30.

DOW OF THE LETELIER AFFAIR

ited States has decided on a measured response Chilean refusal to extreme military men accused of murdering the former Letelier, the former Foreign Minister. The strait has stopped of withdrawing the ambassador, and it will be such a drastic step as all private investment in which would in any case an extremely difficult to Congress. But the staff, a halt to arms, credit guarantees—are enough to make a displeasure clear as a reminder that of its desire to appear in light these days, the regime has still to make its deconstruction of its have turned its back on deeds of the past six

Letelier, an exile who in the Allende government of 1973, was killed when he was blown up by a bomb centre of Washington. It suggested that the trail to the Chilean security known as Dina, and the murder had been

ordered by General Juan Contreras Sepulveda, its head at that time. The Americans, therefore, made a formal request for the extradition of General Contreras and two of his subordinates to stand trial in the United States. After lengthy consideration of the evidence sent to Santiago, the Chilean Supreme Court decided that it was not sufficient to justify putting the three men on trial, and extradition was refused. Since then, the Chilean Government have made great play of the claim that they had gone through all due legal processes, and that the Americans should accept the outcome and drop the matter.

This the Americans have refused to do, and with some reason. They have not said so openly, but it is clear that, like many other observers and indeed like many Chileans, they are less than convinced that the Chilean Supreme Court acted independently. There was also the regime of President Pinochet itself to be considered. In some ways it is acting less brutally these days, since people are not being illegally arrested, tortured and killed in the same large numbers; and the regime itself is very anxious to acquire a better image. But the framework of repression still remains, available to be brought into use if it was felt to be needed, and

President Pinochet has made it clear that it will be a long time before Chile returns to any normal form of democracy. Meanwhile the political parties remain banned, tight control is exercised over most of the press, and only the Church is able to stand up to the regime as an effective form of opposition.

Strictly speaking, of course, the Letelier affair was not a pure human rights case, but as the Americans have stressed, one of terrorism—the murder of a political opponent on American ground. But an Administration that is as committed as Mr Carter's to a human rights policy had to see it in that light. The policy has had a few setbacks in the past year or two, when it has come into conflict with economic or security interests, but in Latin America it has been a factor in the new political climate which has come about there. American influence has played its part in bringing about a return to democracy in some of the smaller countries, and has made all the countries in the area, even the most diehard military ones, uncomfortably aware of how they look to the outside world. So in the case of General Pinochet's Chile, still far from democracy and still repressive in many areas, a stand had to be taken.

Wood

She scorned to pick up a cheque for a mere £350m already on the table—not the arrogant, almost Gallic gesture it seemed. She took a third of the total—she would weaken her demand for further slices. For her, it was nearly all, or nothing.

That bears all the marks of a strong domestic political position, although the Commons' response to her statement today was far from enthusiastic. She has no real choice. She knows, without any opinion poll, that since the 1975 referendum, the British commitment to Community membership has turned sour and government must now do better than out-Silk John Silkin, the former Minister of Agriculture.

That is the way the tide of public opinion runs like a mill race. What patience would the electorate have with a government cutting to the bone public expenditure at home and tolerating rising public expenditure in the Community for deepening milk lakes and for raising more sugar mountains?

Yet that is only to say that Mrs Thatcher has a political dilemma at home; and the French and Germans add that it is also to say that Mrs Thatcher does not understand the Community, or even the treaties the United Kingdom signed.

Chancellor Schmidt and President Giscard also have political dilemmas at home. Both face domestic elections during the next two years. But put that aside: is there any substance in the Franco-German claim, to which all in Dublin except the United Kingdom subscribed, that Mrs Thatcher and the British people seriously misunderstand and misrepresent the question of the "ownership" of the disputed £1,000m. Here we reach the stage to choreograph a dance for angels on a pin-point.

are giving notice we want it back because we are cutting expenditure at home.

"Our money?" Mr. No, answer the Right. "We must bring it down to earth." Says Chancellor Schmidt. By means of under one per cent of VAT, customs duties, and import levies the United Kingdom acts as agent to collect the Community's legal revenue; therefore, it is "their money". But say the French and Germans, the Community is fair and reasonable. Mrs Thatcher has proved her case, or her determination, that the United Kingdom is not from budgetary inequality, and if the Commission can fiddle around with financial mechanisms to allow a rebate of £350m, perhaps a little more later, then all well and good.

It would make it easier, say the Germans, if the oil-rich Mrs Thatcher would give her commensurate spirit by the cut-price selling of North Sea oil into the Community. Mrs Thatcher rejected any such rake's progress with a national asset beyond price. President Giscard wanted a balancing concession on British fishing boats, another precious natural resource, and also a much lighter political touch by Mrs Thatcher on British exports of lamb and mutton to France. Mrs Thatcher refused to consider any link between budgetary convergence and other lobby community questions.

In short, there was no hope of a meeting of minds between Mrs Thatcher and the Eight in Dublin Castle, even if the Beuclux leaders did their best to pour any oil but British oil into troubled waters. The principals stood firm on national interests, and the French and Germans stand firmly regarding Mrs Thatcher as a terminant bear on disturbing the cohesiveness of a rather urbane male club where everything could be settled over a few drinks or a soigne luncheon, preferably with President Roy Jenkins to suggest the charut.

The Eight, like the Cabinet and the Commons, only now begin to understand how the psychology of the higher politics profoundly affects when a lone woman brings her leoproggins logic and single-minded determination to bear on getting her own way. It is, the Eight find, an unforgettable experience, though better avoided.

BY THE FINANCIAL EDITOR

Oil opportunities in America

Uncertainties surround the future of the oil sector in America. It is involved in assessment either of the relative importance of the oil sector within the economy or of the level of Opec production in the next year may be taken with a salt.

Very analysis which predicts tight supplies, even higher prices and high margins for the companies, another predicting softness of demand and a mini-glut like the one which lured most of 1978.

sent, in all but politician's eyes, the Saudis are riding high. Net income first nine months of this year, on a comparable basis (the difference being conventions any comparison must be rough) for the so-called seven largest oil companies in America (and is up by between 53 per cent on) and 119 per cent (for Texaco). The ending of exchange control, the investor has much greater choice in the sector than ever before, and of the uncertainties, and the fact that a 50 per cent run up in the United States and similar gains in the United Kingdom are beginning to look more fully increased opportunities are not missed.

United States there is, in contrast, if anything, a shortage of refinery limiting the downside risk in the oil sector. In the United States, the price of oil is offering the prospects of a boom of the sort of reasonable industry is seeing for the first many years.

he fear of excessive political interference (or further attempts at punitive taxes) is receding as Congress and its supporters the desperate need to use oil production before the free-market is clogged with useless iron, which once was motor cars.

is certain that the price of oil, it may not be so firm next year, never again going to be cheap and which have an equity share in its price, whatever may be their future in long term, are going to make a money over the next decade or so.

the lie

icks—and the fact that the mini-glut happen does not alter the point—are down, in refining in Europe, it is well for BP in the last quarter, for Shell, which remain a weak point in the pressure on the multi-national oil companies to spread vast amounts of highly expensive new oil from synthetics and to "zero" businesses—they do not understand in order to stay in the next century.

vestment strategy involving the exposure to the production of crude oil, the least to the peripheral seems sensible. This was the case for Thomson, Lamo, Tricentrol, the argument for spreading risk is most of the advantages, coupled with the fact that dividends will gradually rise to 40 per cent of earnings. With utilities of assessing profits for next year, a p/e ratio of, say, seven, is a five-and-a-half, is by no means

production from Prudhoe Bay in Alaska earns the vast majority of oil will only reach a peak at the year there is a good chance of finding in the Beaufort Sea where leases were awarded on December 14.

c Richfield, which has the other crude, looks attractive for the same reason. Oil has heavy oil reserves, a giving it some speculative appeal. Oil has been bought in similar quantities in the very recent past, still in the Phillips Petroleum, meanwhile, still in production at Ekofisk, offers a into the North Sea.

e Aramco partners, Social, Exxon, and Mobil, the advantage of having and Arabian crude at \$18 a barrel is over estimated. It is a help, but that Shell UK has increased its prices by only 41 per cent this year, while prices have more than doubled elsewhere about the cost structure.

Also it is doubtful how long Saudis can afford to go on irritating its Opec partners while the West shows little real sign of reducing consumption.

Following the six-monthly refixing of the interest rate, on GEC's floating rate notes, they now offer 17½ per cent which looks a handsome return for institutions, even those funding in the short-term money markets, prepared to take a view that interest rates have now peaked.

There is usually a good two-way market in the issue and as in recent days the notes have a nice habit of returning to par. The drawback for the banking system lies in the fact that they come in the same category as a local authority issue so far as the correct controls are concerned, and institutions need a degree of headroom here to take advantage of the attractive yield available for at least the next six months.

Interest futures London is considering

Are we likely to have a market in interest rate futures in London? Certainly the International Commodities Clearing House hopes that it will not be too long before we follow the United States and Australia, and to promote debate on the subject it has commissioned a report which it is circulating in the City.

But why the need for a debate? Principally for two reasons. First, it has to be clear that enough people are interested in a London market to make it worth while to try to establish one. Second, it seems certain that there will be no market in London until the implications of such a market have been thoroughly thrashed out between the monetary authorities and the prospective participants.

On the face of it there might seem to be no reason why the authorities should prove obstructive. After all the United States markets had in fact been given the seal of official approval with a few caveats by the joint committee set up by the United States Treasury and the Federal Reserve. Moreover, it is argued in the ICCR report that a futures market in sterling interest rates could prove a positive blessing to the United Kingdom authorities in terms of monetary control and the selling of government debt.

It would not only give them a new technique but, it is held, it would also tend to reduce interest rate volatility.

The whole issue of the implications for monetary control and the possible role of the Bank of England in such a market is however one that the authorities are going to have to ponder very carefully. Apart from anything else it is still not decided what precise changes in the United Kingdom system of monetary control that we can expect to be made next year.

The second issue that will obviously concern the authorities is that of market regulation. The proposed tight margin controls on market users is clearly desirable. But there is also the question of the status of the marketmakers and the role of the ultimate guarantors.

These would be important considerations in any such market. Arguably they might be even more important in a London market where the major market figures might tend to be a number of key financial institutions rather than the broader spectrum of participants that has characterized the United States market—thereby spreading risk.

That said, the idea is of course to encourage a broad participation in a London market and the ICCR would like to see a market involving a wide range of financial institutions—for example moneybrokers, banking, stockbroking and commodity broking. This in itself however raises questions since it runs across the tendency of regularizing markets in the United Kingdom by compartmentalizing them.

Finally there is the issue of speculation. A futures market is a speculative market par excellence, and the ICCR makes no bones about it. Indeed the argument is in fact that the greater the number of speculators participating the better the market works and the less the volatility in the underlying markets.

British attitudes to speculation are however more staid than those of Americans and the ICCR will have to prove the positive benefits of speculation fairly convincingly.

In the last of three articles on public borrowing by leading economists Frank Blackaby argues that there should be no PSBR target

No way to run a fiscal policy

What should the Government's target figure for the public sector borrowing requirement be in 1980/81? My answer is that it should have no target for this curious and unpredictable number; setting a PSBR target is no way to run fiscal policy.

The question the Government will have to decide, between now and next spring, is not about expenditure (that is now settled); it is about the general level of taxation—whether to put it up, or down, or leave it where it is. "Unchanged policies" (the concept of "unchanged policies" now includes a good deal of indexation.)

Decisions about taxation must begin with some judgment about what will happen on these "unchanged policies". Chancellors of the Exchequer always express acceptance about forecasts, however, there is no way of avoiding them.

Policies whose effect is in the future, must be based on some view about what is going to happen in the future. It is, incidentally, entirely incongruous to be critical of the idea of forecasting and at the same time to demand that fiscal policy should be determined by borrowing requirements.

The forecast of the public sector borrowing requirement has to be based on a detailed estimate of the future of personal incomes, consumption and company profits (to provide the revenue estimates) but also, among other things, of

the sales, prices and investment of all the nationalized industries. The idea that policy can be conducted without forecasts is a gratuitous release into economic primitivism.

The forecast for 1980 which is around all tell basically the same story, with minor variations. It will be a depressed year, with output either flat or falling and with unemployment rising. Further, none of the forecasts shows much optimism about either prices or wages.

The idea that the forecast appears to be that the rise in earnings comes down from 14 to 16 per cent—which is a pretty modest rate of deceleration. This is more a hope than a prediction. It is likely to happen, but we have a deflationary year next year, but it does not do much to per inflation down.

Not least the events of 1980 should begin to give a glimpse to some of the more misleading doctrines about inflation. In the long run facts kick bad doctrines out. First, there is the idea that the simple announcement of money supply targets will so radically change expectations that trade unions will accept modest wage settlements. This is not happening.

Second, there is the idea that by holding a high exchange rate, inflation can be brought down rapidly. The idea is that manufacturers, forced to maintain competitive

prices abroad, will put up strong resistance to large wage demands. They are not doing so; in any case, manufacturing industry accounts for only one third of all employment, and by no means all the negotiations which set the going rate for the wage round are within the manufacturing sector.

The high exchange rate has helped us towards an enormous balance of payments deficit, and has done little to keep the rate of inflation down. It is reasonably clear that the economy is not behaving in the way in which these two doctrines say that it should behave. These two emperors have no clothes—or, at best, are scantily clad.

The failure of these short cuts puts the Government in a quandary. The threat of deflation does not work; that leaves the Government, in its present policy stance, with little option but to pursue actual deflation. Here the difficulty is that nobody knows how much unemployment would be needed to bring about moderate wage settlements.

The main lesson of the experience of the past six years, both in this and other countries, is that unemployment can go up a long way without having any effect on wages. We have already gone up from 11 per cent unemployment in the 1950s to a figure of over 5 per cent without much to show for it. That figure will do the trick? We do not know. My own guess is that it is a figure which is too high to be politically acceptable.

Here is the problem for fiscal policy. The Government has to decide whether to use taxation to intensify the deflation, or moderate it, or leave it as it is now forecast. Should it raise taxes, making the fall in output steeper and the rise in unemployment sharper, hoping thereby to make the period of recession shorter?

The case against doing this is that the economy may become just too debilitated. Big, established, conservative firms survive deflationary policies. Small innovative firms which need to borrow while they get themselves established go bankrupt.

The main danger of a severe deflation is that it will destroy too many firms—and indeed possibly industries—which will be needed when the time comes to encourage the recovery (and recovery will not happen of its own accord). Phenomena do not rise from every pile of ashes.

Then, should the Government combine monetary deflation with fiscal expansion? That would be an odd thing to do. There is indeed a case for economic expansion as part of an anti-inflationary policy, simply because it is expansion which meets the needs of those who are demanding more in real terms; but it is not a policy which can now be combined with free collective bargaining.

If the Government had some kind of grip on wage bargaining then expansionary policies would make sense. Indeed, in the long run, it is difficult to see any other kind of policy mix making much sense.

Until the Government is prepared to make some move on the pay bargaining front the best thing it can do is to leave the general level of taxation where it is. However, whatever decision it makes about taxation it should not be made by reference to a forecast of the public sector borrowing requirement. This is not only because of its unpredictability; it is a figure which gives the wrong signals.

Of the multitude of reasons for not targeting this figure, here is just one. Contrast what happens to the borrowing requirement if Government policies are successful in moderating the present wage round—say by bringing it down to 12 per cent—what happens to the borrowing requirement if they fail, and money earnings rise by 18 per cent.

In the first case—success—the public sector borrowing requirement will be higher than in the second case—failure. This is because Government money revenue will be lower with success, while expenditure controlled mainly by cash limits will be much the same.

Thus with a fixed PSBR target the Government would find itself deflating the economy more if it were successful than if it failed. A PSBR target is a foolish thing.

The author is deputy director, the National Institute of Economic and Social Research.

Neddy: much more than a talking shop

On Wednesday, for the first time since the Conservatives came to power, the National Economic Development Council will have a general discussion on the outlook for the economy. This is no new role, although over the past few years NEDC agencies have concentrated on specific aspects of the economy and industry to the exclusion of such general discussions.

What can a council containing some of the chief powers in the land, government, the Confederation of British Industry and TUC, but with no executive authority, do to help stem the tide of persistent relative economic decline for which it was set up?

Over the 17 years of NEDC's life there has been one simple, unambiguous, but crucial answer to this question: that in a two-divided country it provides a unique forum—the only place where government ministers and the leaders of management and trade unions meet on an equal footing. At a time of growing economic difficulty and polarization of views this role assumes increased importance.

To characterize NEDC as a "talking shop" has some validity, but is not necessarily a condemnation, since the media highlight conflict more readily than consensus.

But the impact of such consensus is limited by the absence of direct linkage between the parties to NEDC proceedings and the constituencies they represent. Their desire to use NEDC more effectively whether as a source of broader economic understanding or a stronger influence for specific change,

therefore requires something more than the gradual construction of process of monthly meetings.

Over the past few years the council has turned increasingly to specific aspects of industrial performance where agreement has been more readily found and where the influence of the parties to NEDC proceedings is more direct. The executive power of government over its own institutions might be used to assist progress in specific fields.

The work of the NEDC has therefore become increasingly linked with its tripartite committees—the Economic Development Committees (EDCs) and Sector Working Parties (SWPs)—and their examination of specific industrial sectors which has increased the potential for agreement and cooperative action.

These committees provide the only joint institutional machinery at national level for industrial change. They provide a forum for trade union representatives and management to discuss the constraints and opportunities for self-improvement within each separate sector.

Their effect—should help to lessen the inadequacy of many trade associations, the insufficiency of trade union research resources, and the gap left by the failure of so many managements to communicate with their workforce. Understanding of sectoral issues has been significantly improved and action promoted on general problems such as the crippling diversity of industrial specifications for similar

products and the interminable delays on large construction sites.

What is also needed is a more effective linkage between the tripartite committees and individual companies in order to stimulate changes which have not happened of their own accord through the market mechanism and help remove the human and technological shortcomings which have come to dominate the industrial scene.

We lack some advantages that our competitors have: an ethic as in the United States, which sees wealth creation as the prior goal and distribution second; a sense of joint purpose, as in France and Japan, which links industrialists and government together in the pursuit of national economic interest; a close association, as in Germany, between financial and industrial institutions.

Adaptation

We cannot steal our competitors' cultural clothes, though we can adapt some; we must use devices appropriate to our own society, of which Neddy is one, as instruments of change.

A more effective role for the NEDC lies in a greater willingness to engage in a robust exchange of views on broader economic issues. Its emphasis should be essentially on strengthening the industrial efficiency of the economy and a wider publicizing of views on long-term issues—whether in

agreement or dissent—which could give the authoritative lead to public debate which is conspicuously lacking today.

In the work of the tripartite committees we need to see flexibility of application to problems and sectors and a willingness to push towards the boundaries of consensus in promoting change at company level.

The decentralized character of our society where power is manifestly centrifugal, limits the influence of Neddy, but also makes any fear of "corporatism" absurd. Representation might be extended for specific discussions to give wider impact, but there should be sufficient flexibility within the present constituents to include interests of most of those who would wish to be involved.

It is crucial today that each party should continue to see its own interest in the existence and activities of Neddy, with the search for common interest a guiding principle.

The transformation of the British economy will not come from a single sweeping solution, but from change at a multitude of points. The NEDC can have increasing influence in this process so long as it is understood to be a permanent exercise in the art of the possible.

Geoffrey Chandler

The author is Director General, the National Economic Development office.

The Joseph philosophy under strain

Peter Hill

The National Enterprise Board. Partnership and a "privatization" have become the vogue words of industrial reorganization.

So far so good. But there are now signs that the philosophy which Sir Keith Joseph, the Industry Secretary, was refining in opposition at the Centre for Policy Studies (virtually his personal think-tank) is coming under strain.

Rolls-Royce was the first indication of everything might not be going according to plan. Its transfer from the stewardship of the National Enterprise Board is a decision which Sir Keith has made a dedication to the policy of non-intervention.

Now Sir Keith is faced with the National Enterprise Board. Partnership and a "privatization" have become the vogue words of industrial reorganization.

an even tougher decision over the future relationship between the NEB and British Leyland, which is in danger of tearing itself apart. That decision is some weeks away as yet, but Sir Keith has already submitted a case for removal and transfer to the safety of the department's Victoria Street headquarters.

As though Rolls-Royce and BL were not enough, another problem is coming home to roost in the shape of the British Steel Corporation—and Sir Keith may well find that final judgment on his tenure at the Department of Industry will rest on how he deals with this issue.

The corporation last week unveiled a further massive loss for the present half year and its senior managers have now formally abandoned the target of breaking even financially by the end of the year.

Steel is basic to the success of Britain's manufacturing industry. An uncompetitive, inefficient and low productivity steel industry places the rest of industry at a disadvantage in competing in world markets and the shortfalls of the past have produced an over-dependence on imports.

For the moment at least Sir Keith stands by the target of breaking even, linked to a decision that he will not be prepared to suffer further revenue losses beyond the end of the year.

But of the 457 pages meticulously recording what is undoubtedly a success story, mere five are given over to "the bank today".

Now there any account of the way the bank has dealt with its big problems in the shipping industry over the last three years.

Hambros, which had lent heavily to the Norwegian shipping magnate Hilman Reksten, had to make provisions on its shipping book heavy enough to sap the strength of the bank.

But for an authorized version of that story you may have to wait another two hundred years for the next volume to take up where the present one leaves off.

Ronald Pullen

"The Hambros 1779-1979, by Bo Brannen and Kathleen Wain; Michael Joseph, £13.50.

Business Diary profile

bankers tend to be behind the throne. The Hambros dynasty is also the subject of an official history* published today. This starts in 1779, when the Hambros name first became known to the world of finance and trade.

It was when Calmer Levy went to get his tradesman's licence. He wanted to adopt the name of his native Hamburg, but the authorities made such a mess of spelling it that he chose Hambro as an easy way out.

Jocelyn himself is almost an identical merchant banker of the older school. Eton, Cambridge and the Coldstream Guards were as good qualifications as any to move into merchant banking when the war, even if your name did not happen to be Hambro, was out of the picture. He is a solid establishment—stunning and racing.

But he has also had his fair share of knocking about the world for the bank. Olaf, Sir Charles and Jack who preceded him as chairman, guided the bank through the difficult days after the war and did Jocelyn a service by sending him out to the United States to see just what British banks could do for exporters.

His travels take him to the United States and all the way to the Far East. He is a man of many parts.



There'll always be a Hambros: (left to right) Hambros, Jocelyn, Charles and Rupert.

ment, they put him in touch with the shopfloor of British industry—a particular interest of his ever since.

Perhaps his most important contribution to the bank came during the early 1960s when his desire to open up new business

1965 when at 46 Jocelyn took over as chairman of the bank. There is, however, nothing out of the ordinary in the way Jocelyn has run the bank in some other respects these last 14 years. As with most of the City's merchant banks, so with Hambros: family counts for most everything. Outsiders, like Harry Spurburg during the 1960s and John Clay in the 1970s managed to reach the highest executive levels at Hambros, but "enlightened nepotism"—Jocelyn's phrase—is still the hallmark of the chairman's way of staffing the bank.

It is still survival of the fittest; competition for jobs within the bank is stiff and the training for family entrants rigorous, even more so perhaps because they are all potential chairmen.

Cousin Charles is now firmly ensconced in the number two slot as chairman of the Bank at 48, 11 years Jocelyn's junior. Coming up fast on the inside track is Rupert. Jocelyn's eldest son, who at 36 has already made a name for himself in international banking, where, until his arrival, Hambros had been losing ground to the competition.

Two of Jocelyn's other sons, Richard and James, have also gone through the Hambros mill and appear to be challenging new recruits. An intriguing new recruit is Clare, Charles' daughter, who is 22, a gossip

the spotlight is on him and all his family.

Stock Exchange Prices

Capitalization and week's change

ACCOUNT DAYS: Dealings Begin, Nov. 19. Dealings End, Dec. 7. \S Contrango Day, Dec. 10. Settlement Day, Dec. 11.
 \S Forward bargains are permitted on two previous days.

(Current market price multiplied by the number of shares in issue for the stock quoted)

[illegible]

FT Index change on week 420.7 ± 12.1 (3.0%)

Public and Educational Appointments



Principal and Vice-Chancellor

The Court of the University is proceeding in consultation with the Senate of the University to consider the appointment of a Principal and Vice-Chancellor to succeed Sir Sanford C. Curry, DL MA PhD DSc LL.D ScD FRS, the first holder of that Office, who will retire on 30 September 1993. The Chairman of Court, Sir John Arwell, CBE MSc LL.D CEng, will welcome enquiries from interested persons and suggestions of persons who might be considered.

The Chairman of Court, Office of the Registrar, University of South Africa, Royal College, 204 George Street, Glasgow, G1 1XW, by late January 1980.

Particulars and further information can be obtained from the Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD IN ASSOCIATION
WITH SOMERVILLE OR WOLFSON COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY LECTURESHIP
IN PHONETICS

Applications are invited for the above post.
 Stipend according to age on the scale 54,333-65,581 (national scale effective from 1.10.73). The successful candidate may be offered a research or honorary fellowship by Somerville College (if a woman) or Wilson College (for a man).
 Details of the University and college appointments may be obtained from the Secretary of Faculties, University Offices, Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD, to whom applications (twelve typed copies, only one from overseas candidates) should be sent by 5 January 1980.

MEDICAL RESEARCH COUNCIL
HISTORY OF MOLECULAR BIOLOGY, CAMBRIDGE
ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER

[illegible]

PARLIAMENTARY NOTICES

IN PARLIAMENT
SESSION 1979-80
LONDON TRANSPORT (No. 3)
NOTICE is hereby given that an application is being made to Parliament for the London Transport Executive (hereinafter referred to as "the Executive") to be authorised to borrow a sum under the above name of a short title for purposes of which the following are the principal objects:
1. Construction of the following works:
a. Greater London and the County of Surrey
b. The London Underground in Hillingdon and Epsom and the Borough of Epsom and Ewell
c. The Metropolitan Railway
2. The above in length

PUBLIC AND EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS

**ST. LAWRENCE COLLEGE,
RAMSGATE**

**THE JUNIOR SCHOOL
HEADMASTER**

Applications are invited for the post of resident Headmaster, from September, 1980. There are 173 boys, aged 7-13, (of whom 175 are day-boys) in the School, together with 100 Prep-Preparatory Department. The School is in membership of I.A.P.S. The Junior School is an integral part of St. Lawrence College. Salaries are a factor of merit and experience. Full details from the Secretary to the Corporation, St. Lawrence College, Ramsgate, Kent CT11 1

University of Oxford

CLINICAL READERSHIP IN SURGERY.

Applications are invited for the post of Clinical Lecturer in the Department of Surgery at the University of Liverpool. The successful candidate will be expected to deliver lectures with regard to clinical and laboratory work, to supervise the work of the students, to examine the students, and to undertake the duties of a senior consultant. Candidates should send their curriculum vitae, and references, to the Secretary, Department of Surgery, University of Liverpool, 69, Chester Road, Liverpool, L69 3GB. The closing date for applications is 15th November 1984. The successful candidate will be offered a salary commensurate with his qualifications and experience.

The reader will be eligible for departmentally awarded Senior Lecturer's Award in 1985. Salary scale is £10,000-£14,000 p.a. plus £1,200 p.a. for research. The post is full-time, according to medical school regulations, and may be held concurrently with other posts.

Six (6) copies of applications, with the above, should be sent by post to the Secretary, Department of Surgery, 69, Chester Road, Liverpool, L69 3GB.

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APPOINTMENT OF BURSAR

The Governors invite applications for the position of BURSAR at Oundle School; the successful candidate to take up office in September 1980.

The Bursar will be responsible to the Governing Body for the financial and business administration of the School with special emphasis on: budgetary control, capital expenditure and long-term financial planning.

The Bursar will also be responsible for overseeing the maintenance of the School's land and all School property and for advising the Governors on the purchase, sale and leasing of properties and land.

Candidates should preferably be between 40 and 50 years of age and be married.

Salary will be commensurate with qualifications and experience.

Applications and forms may be obtained from the Secretary to the Governing Body at the undermentioned address, and must be completed and returned by not later than 31st December, 1979.

A. S. Cox,
Secretary.

Grocers' Hall,
Princes Street, London EC2R 8AQ.

THE NATIONAL HOSPITAL FOR NERVOUS

DISEASES
Maida Vale, London, W9
requires a full-time

**Senior
Clinical Psychologist**

Applications should be experienced in the assessment of neuropsychological problems. There are opportunities to work on individual and collaborative research in neuropsychology.

Applications, giving details of relevant experience and qualifications, should be made in writing to the Personnel Officer, The National Hospital for Nervous Diseases, Queen Square, London WC1N 3BG.

Please quote the names and addresses of two referees. Further details are available from Mrs M. Tucker on 01-266 5172, ext. 1.

Applications to be received by 4th January, 1980.

PUBLIC AND EDUCATIONAL APPOINTMENTS

**RESIDENT
CURATOR**

valuable experience/qualifications required for THE ARTS Colchester an ARTS Trust, grant-aided by Arts Association, provide high quality, subsidised, professional, plus state-of-the-art facilities and a dedicated staff. The Arts Centre Colchester (110-112 High Street, Colchester CO1 1AA) is open from 10.00am to 10.00pm, 7 days a week. Tel: 0206 250000.

**THE KING'S SCH
CANTERBURY**

University Music graduate to Music 10 and 11 and Sch. 12; keyboard (to include, if possible), and to take a h. in the school's active music. Applications to the Head giving name and addresses referees.

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1980 BEIT-MEMOR
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The University of Sydney

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